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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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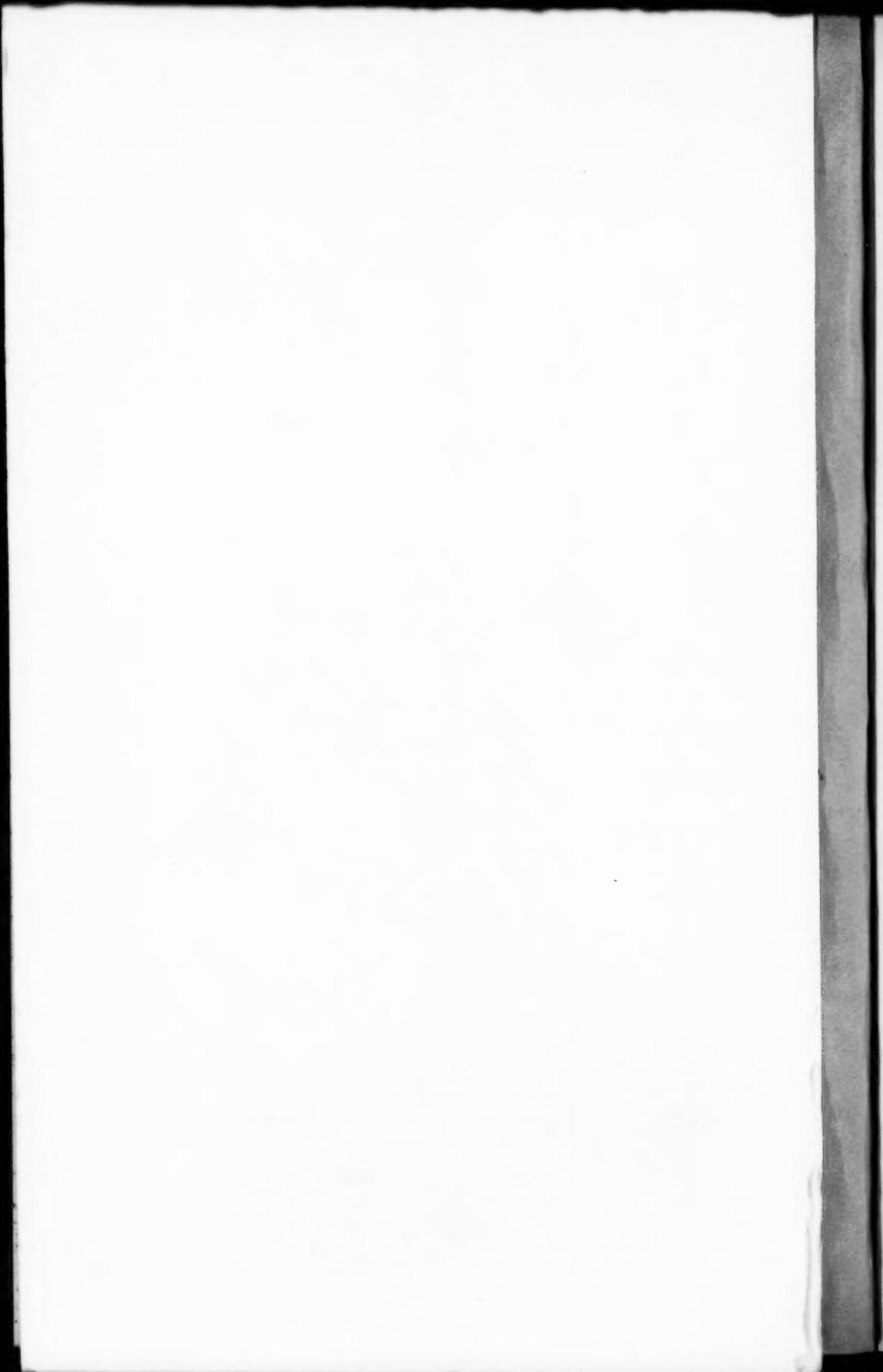
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BISHOP THOMAS C. BROWNELL'S JOURNAL OF HIS MISSIONARY TOURS, 1829 AND 1834

WITH NOTES BY WILLIAM A. BEARDSLEY, D. D.*

THE Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society at their meeting in August, 1829, requested Bishop Brownell of Connecticut to undertake a visitation through the States lying west and south of the Alleghany mountains, "to perform such Episcopal offices as might be desired, to inquire into the condition of the missions established by the Board, and to take a general survey of the country for the purpose of designating such other missionary stations as might be usefully established".

The Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks was designated to accompany him, but upon his withdrawal, the Rev. William Richmond, of New York, was sent in his place. Bishop Brownell kept a Journal of this tour, as well as of the one he made in 1834. So far as known it has never been published, though the Bishop made a rather full report of his journey, which was published in the Quarterly Paper of the Missionary Society, and republished in the *Episcopal Watchman*. The Bishop again went to New Orleans in 1836 to consecrate their new church. He was gone five months, but no mention is made of this visit in his Journal.

On the first journey he had thirty-four baptisms, confirmed one hundred and forty-two persons, consecrated six churches and admitted one person to the holy order of the priesthood. On his second journey he had ten baptisms, confirmed sixty-two persons and consecrated one church.

ITINERARY—NOTES 1829

Left Philadelphia Nov^r 12th and went to Lancaster, 64 miles. Country delightful—Soil fine for wheat and all other grain—everything

*Registrar of the diocese of Connecticut and rector emeritus of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven. Contributor to *Dictionary of American Biography* and *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*. Ed. Note.

substantial, Stone Houses, Barns & other outhouses—everything white-washed, buildings and fences contiguous—picturesque, in contrast with green fields of Wheat, and the brown forests and pastures—numerous heavy Waggon, and fine horses, on the road, particularly the Stage Horses.

Frequent glimpses at the great rail-road, and the canals—Great Valley remarkably fine—rode through it obliquely 20 miles—Conestoga Valley near Lancaster, also very fine. Saw but one house of public worship between Phil. and Lancaster, and but one between that place and this. Characteristics of the German Countries.

Left Lancaster 13th noon, and arrived at Harrisburg at night. Called on Rev^d M^r Reynolds¹—Next morning, visited the Capitol—fine buildings, brick should be painted—Called on the Gov. (Shultz)*—also on M^r Peacock, M^r Gallagher &c.—In the afternoon, went to Carlisle—staid at M^r Stiles'—Dickenson College in a bad state—dissentions among the Trustees—President and Professors resigned—only 36 students remaining. Judge Stiles' Son fitting for College—probably come to Hartford.²

Started for Pittsburg monday morning—Grand view from Cove mountain, but getting dark before we crossed it. Lost a wheel going down Sideling mountain in the night. Splendid view to the east from the Allegheny ridge—arrived at the summit about sunset—saw a hundred mountains reposing beneath us—the Clouds hanging around their bases, gave the appearance of an immense sea studded with Islands. Rode three days and two nights to get to Pittsburg—broke down when within about 7 miles of the place, and had to mount the Carriage on a rail—intensely dark and rainy and no lanterns—bad pickle—arrived about 8 O'Clock, and found the Rev^d M^r Hopkins³ and his Vestry waiting for us at the Hotel. It was too late for the service notified in the Church, and M^r Hopkins had been obliged to officiate himself.—No boat going the next day, and as we had disappointed them by our delay, we felt bound to comply with their importunity to stay over Sunday—especially, as we must have otherwise have spent it on board the Boat. Took up our abode with Dr Moway—excellent family—has a Son at Emmetsburgh which he will send to W. College next year—two younger ones which may probably come to the High School.⁴—In Pittsburg, received the kind hospitalities of M^r Holdship, M^r Richardson, M^r Votes, M^r Davis &c.

¹Rev. John Reynolds.

²John Andrews Shulze, Gov. Dec. 16, 1823, to Dec. 15, 1829.

³The Bishop's hopes regarding prospective students for his College at Hartford do not seem to have been realized.

⁴Rev. John Henry Hopkins, afterwards first Bishop of Vermont.

⁵Does he mean the Academy at Cheshire?

Monday evening 23^d started for Cincinnati in the Pennsylvania, arrived in safety after a voyage of 3 nights & 2 days; distance 500 miles—Very agreeable & orderly set of passengers (Rev^d Mr Weller⁵ & Adderly⁶ of the Church, and Rev^d Mr Logan & Lyon, Presbyterians—Mr Brown & Lady, and Mess^{rs} Jenkins & Duffield & M^{rs} Allen who had accompanied us from Lancaster) Not a word of profane language spoken, or a dram drank in our presence—Prayers every night, and Grace at Table—Run foul of by another Boat—alarm of *fire!*

At Cincinnati staid with Rev^d S. Johnston⁷—Visited and treated with great hospitality by many—e. g. Mr W^m Johnston, Mess^{rs} Sam^l & John A. Foote—Ch. Hammond, Dr Drake, Mess^{rs} Caswell, Starr, J. Butler of Ho. (sic), Smith of Derby, Maj. Gwinn, Longworth, Judge McLean &c.—Preached in the Church, and took a collection of 30 Dollars for the Mission—Advised Rev^d Mr Johnson to reunite his parish with that of Christ Ch.—Bp. Chase⁸ joined us in the morning of Saturday—we left in the evening for Louisville where we arrived the next morning at 10 OClk (Sunday the 29th)—Cincinnati very beautiful Town—gradual ascent from the river streets as wide & regular as those of Philadelphia—extensive market. Likely to be the great place of reception and distribution, the *Sensori cum commune* of the State—Canal to Dayton—quite a manufacturing town, though inferior to Pittsburg, especially in manufactures of Iron.—The College⁹ abandoned, and the building appropriated to the accommodation of several common Schools.—A Medical College of some reputation—The range of Hills on the north of the City very fine—will become the country seats of the Gentry.

At Louisville, staid at Mr Robert B. Ormsby's—Preached on Sunday—Returned numerous calls on Monday—spent the evening at Mr G. S. Butlers.—Next morning at 10 took the Steam Boat Sylph for Frankfort, on our way to Lexington, the Road (like most others in the State at this time) being impassable for Stages. Arrived at Frankfort 1st Dec^r and the next morning at 4 A. M. took the stage for Lexington, where we arrived at 12. On board the Boat, we had a motley company—several members of the Legislature, half a dozen *black-legs*,¹⁰ and a corps of Actors & Actresses—the latter the best behaved of the company—constant gambling on board, and much gross profanity. The members of the Legislature had been introduced to us at Louisville, and treated us with great attention. Col. Tebbatts, Dr Declaray, & Judge

⁵Rev. George Weller.

⁶Rev. John T. Adderly.

⁷Rev. Samuel Johnson.

⁸Bishop Philander Chase.

⁹Cincinnati College, of which Bishop Chase was President for two years.

¹⁰"A notorious gambler." Webster.

James, afterwards joined us at Lexington. They were men of talents & worth.

Lexington is the Athens of the West. A fine medical school, excellent buildings, 200 students, and an able Faculty—Became acquainted with Drs^s Dudley, Cook, Caldwell, Short, and Richardson. The buildings of the Academical department burnt down—has 136 Students—80 of them collegians, and the remainder Grammar Scholars.—The country round, with a radius of 20 miles, the finest in the world—Hemp the staple culture, which is manufactured chiefly into cordage and Bagging.—The Society highly intelligent, yet plain and simple in their manners.—Dr. Chapman¹¹ congregation embraces the most valuable part of it—Remember *Robert Wickliffe*, Dr Cook, Mr Hunt, Mr Morton, Mr Harper, Mr Smith Mr Smeads, Mr Warner &c.—Mr Clay, and Mr Wickliffe's Buffaloes.

Dec^r 7. Left Lexington, and in the evening arrived at Frankfort. Next morning, called on Gov. Metcalf¹²—received a visit from Mr Jno J. Crittenden,¹³ the most eloquent Lawyer in the State. Went with the Governor and Mr Herman to the House of Representatives—thence to the Senate, where we heard speeches from Mr Wickliffe and Mr Hardin, the two most distinguished members.—In the afternoon took the Steam Boat for Louisville, where we arrived the next morning (9th Dec^r.)

At Louisville, I took up my residence at Mr J. S. Snead's—Pleasant family—Two Sons whom he will send to W. College in about 2 years. (Dr Cook's Son, of Lexington, will come next Spring)—Louisville the great Mart of the commerce of Kentucky—all the exports that go down the river, are shipped here, and all imports that come up the river are distributed from this place—The merchants, are devoted to their *business*. Maysville has a portion of the trade carried on with the east, through Wheeling & Pittsburg.—Kentucky a noble State—fertile soil—fine run of men.

VISITATION OF 1829: NOTES

Left Hartford Nov^r 5th 1829, in the Steam Boat, and arrived at N. York next morning. Preached in St Johns Church morning of Sunday the 8th and made a Collection of 111 Dollars for the Mission. Afternoon preached at St Anne's, Brooklyn, and collected 110 Dollars.

Evening, at St George's and made a collection of 184—Dollars. Mon-
75
100

¹¹Rev. George T. Chapman, Rector of Christ Church.

¹²Thomas Metcalfe, Gov. of Kentucky 1829-1833.

¹³U. S. Senator from Kentucky, Gov. of the State, Attorney General in Fillmore's Cabinet.

day 9th Nov. proceeded to Philadelphia. Tuesday 10th met the Society's committee of correspondence at 12 O'Clock, and the Executive Committee at 4 O'Clock, and laid before them a general view of my proposed Tour, which was approved. In the evening (which was rainy) preached in St Stephen's Church, and made a Collection for the Society of about 60 Dollars. (Mr Richmond collected in Grace Ch. 231—.)

²⁵
100

I brought to Philadelphia, in addition to the sums collected in N. York, 100 Dollars from Mr Newton of Pittsfield, 80 Dollars from the Rev^d Mr Potter¹⁴ of Boston, and 220 from the Aux. Society of Christ Church, Hartford. All monies in my hands I paid to Mr Lex,¹⁵ Treasurer of the Society; and took, to defray the expenses of our journey, 500 Dollars, and requested the Cashier of the U. S. Bank to transfer to my credit 300 Dollars in the Branch at N. Orleans, which he promised to do, out of moneys deposited with him by the Treasurer of the Society.

Left Philadelphia Thursday 12 Nov. and arrived at Lancaster the same evening. Mr Richmond preached in the Church, and the next morning we paid our respects to the families of Mr^s Colman, & Miss Yates. Mr^s C. handed me 20 Dollars for the Mission, and Miss Yates expressed her wishes to contribute. The Rev^d Mr Bowman¹⁶ took charge of the 20 Dollars, and promised to collect from Miss Y. and others, and forward the amounts to the Treasurer of the Society.

Left Lancaster Friday 13th and arrived at Harrisburg in the evening of the same day.

Left Harrisburg Saturday 14th and arrived at Carlisle same evening. Preached at Carlisle twice on Sunday.

Left Carlisle 16th and arrived at Pittsburg the evening of the 18th. Staid at Pittsburg nearly 4 days—Preached on Sunday—Mr Richmond preached in the evening, and received a collection of 36 Dollars for our Mission.

Left Pittsburg Monday evening, Nov^r 23^d and after a passage of three nights and two days, arrived at Cincinnati Thursday morning 26th—Preached in Cincinnati (Christ Church) Friday evening, and received a collection of 30 Dollars for our Mission.

Left Cincinnati, Saturday evening 28th and arrived at Louisville on Sunday morning 29th. Preached in the Church on Confirmation and gave notice of the administration of that holy Rite a fortnight hence. Monday 30th Baptized 4 Children viz. Cornelia Anne born Apr 1, 1828, and Charles Henry, born Oct^r 19, 1829, Children of George S. and

¹⁴Rev. Alonso Potter, afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵Jacob Lex.

¹⁶Rev. Samuel Bowman, afterwards Bishop Coadjutor of Pennsylvania.

Cornelia W. Butler—Matilda Anne Maressie (sic.), daughter of Norman & Elizabeth Galt, born 19 Feb. 1829—and Edwin Robert Townsend, son of Thos H. & Elizabeth Armstrong, born Nov. 30, 1829.—

Started for Lexington Tuesday 1st Dec^r and arrived there Thursday 3^d. Preached Friday evening to a full congregation. Mr Richmond preached on Saturday evening. Sunday morning consecrated the Church, by the name of *Christ Church*, Mess^{rs} Chapman,¹⁷ Ward,¹⁸ Freeman,¹⁹ Richmond,²⁰ and Peers,²¹ being present and assisting. Being indisposed with a cold, Mr Richmond preached in the afternoon and Evening. During the evening service, I administered the Rite of Confirmation to three persons. A collection was also taken up for Missions in the west, amounting to 40 Dollars, and an order from Dr Cook for the avails of 96 copies of his Book (now in the hands of Potter of Philadelphia) estimated at 50 Dollars, and a promise of the like sum (for the society) annually, at Christmas, till withdrawn.—I gave the Rev^d Dr Chapman an Order on Mr Van Ingen (N. Y.) for 100 Prayer Books (of the 500 voted by the N. Y. Society) to be distributed by Missionaries in Kentucky.—Promised the Rev^d Mr Freeman to recommend him as a Missionary of the Society, if he would go to Shelbyville and Middletown. The Rev^d Mr Ward will perform occasional services in the vicinity of Lexington, and the Rev^d Mr Peers will officiate occasionally at Versailles. I should add that on my arrival at Lexington I received a communication from the Standing Committee of the Diocese, requesting me to perform such Episcopal services as I might find practicable.

Decr 7th left Lexington, on my return to Louisville—arrived at Frankfort in the evening, and the next day, at 1 P. M. proceeded on my journey in the Steam Boat—Arrived Louisville early on wednesday morning.

Spent the time between that and the ensuing Sunday (13th) in visiting (in company with the newly arrived Rector²²) most of the Episcopal families in the place, for the purpose of preparation for the proposed Confirmation. I also administered the Sacrament of Baptism to four Adults (Mr Hancock, Mr Herié, Mr Thompson & Miss Peel) and seven infants (3 of Mr Strother, 3 of Mr Thompson & 1 of Mr Herié) making in all 4 Adults, and 11 Children baptized by me in Louisville. Saturday the 12th I delivered a Lecture in the morning, on the subject of Confirmation.—Sunday the 13th I consecrated the Church, by the name of *Christ Church*, and administered

¹⁷Rev. George T. Chapman.

¹⁸Rev. John Ward.

¹⁹Rev. Silas C. Freeman.

²⁰Rev. William Richmond.

²¹Rev. Benjamin O. Peers.

²²Rev. David C. Page.

the Rite of Confirmation to 31 persons. The Rev. Dr Chapman, Mr Richmond, and Mr Paige were present on this occasion, and the Congregation was very crowded. Dr Chapman preached in the afternoon, and in the evening, the Rev^d Mr (sic) Preached a Missionary Sermon, and made a collection, in behalf of the Mission, amounting to 40 Dollars. The arrival of the new Rector at Louisville, during our visit, was very opportune, and produced much animation in the parish. This spirit was evinced in an effort made to extinguish a debt which had long been thought to press heavily on the Parish. On our suggestion, a subscription was set on foot, and within a day or two upwards of 1,200 dollars was subscribed—a sum more than adequate to the object, a liberal individual (Mr John Bustard) besides subscribing 200 Dollars to this object, proffered 300 more towards building a Steeple to the Church. I think this object will shortly be effected. The Parish of Louisville was found by us in a cold and depressed state—owing to its having been for 15 months without a Clergyman, and to the divisions which had taken place in regard to Mr Shaw,²³ the last Rector. If the new Rector shall be able to infuse a little more zeal into the members of his Church, it seems likely soon to be the most flourishing Parish in the Diocese.

There are now six Clergymen in this Diocese, and it may probably be prepared to elect a Bishop by the next meeting of the Gen. Convention.²⁴ Kentucky presents a fine field for Missionary exertions. Many of the principal inhabitants, in its larger Towns, were educated in the Church, in their early years, and there are a great many intelligent men to whom the principles of calvinism, and the extravagances of Fanatacism are offensive, who would readily embrace the principles of the Church, if presented to them under favourable circumstances.

—*Mem.* while in Louisville I advanced to the Rev^d Mr Weller²⁵ 50 Dollars from the Missionary funds collected for expenditures at my discretion.

Left Louisville the 15th Dec^r, in the Steam Boat Philadelphia, on my way to the Diocese of Mississippi. On the 19th the Boat run upon a sandbar, about 15 miles above Memphis, and was so badly grounded that we deemed it expedient to leave her. Fortunately the *Huron* came down the river, after we had been detained about 12 hours, and we availed ourselves of this opportunity to prosecute our voyage. We were fortunate in the character of our fellow-passengers in both Boats. There was no profanity or gambling, or other improper behaviour. On

²³Rev. Henry M. Shaw.

²⁴Rev. Benjamin B. Smith was elected. Bishop Brownell was one of his consecrators.

²⁵Rev. George Weller.

Sunday the 20th we had divine service on board the Boat, with all the passengers (60 or 80) for our Congregation. I read the service, and Mr R. delivered a discourse. On Tuesday the 22^d about noon, we arrived at Natches, and took up our lodgings at the public house of Col. L. Purnell. Notice was given for a lecture in the Church on Christmas-eve, but it was relinquished on account of a very heavy rain. On Christmas day, the Church was Consecrated, by the name of Trinity Church, and the holy Rite of Confirmation was administered to 19 persons. The Sacrament of the Lord's supper was also administered. On this occasion divine service was conducted by the Rev^d Mr Richmond,²⁶ and Rev^d Mr Porter,²⁷ and the invitation to Consecrate, and Sentences of Consecration were read by the Rev^d Mr Fox.²⁸

On Saturday the 26th I set out on a visit to Jefferson, and Port Gibson, accompanied by the above named Clergy, and Mr J. Foote. Went to the Plantation of Joseph Dunbar Esq. the first day. The next day (Sunday the 27th) consecrated the Church in Jefferson C^o by the name of Christ Church, and Confirmed 13 persons. The Services conducted the same as at Natches.—

Monday the 28th proceeded on horseback to Port-Gibson, and lodged at the house of Daniel Vertner Esq^r. The next day we had public worship in the Court House. Mr Richmond read service, and I preached a Sermon, and administered Confirmation to 3 persons.

Wednesday the 30th set out on our return. Arrived at the house of Mr John Foster to dinner, and at 3 O'Clock had public worship again in Christ Church, Jefferson. Mr Porter read service, and Mr Richmond preached. Three Gentlemen of this Parish (Jos. Dunbar, Jn^o Foster, & Col. James G. Wood) gave us 10 Dolls. each, making a Contribution of 30 Dollars for the objects of our Mission.

Thursday the 31st we concluded our journey back to Natches, where we arrived about 2 O'Clock, P. M. In the evening we had divine service in the Church. Mr Richmond delivered a Missionary Sermon, and made a collection of 35 Dollars, to be applied to Missions in the West.

Friday Jan^y 1st. Started in the Steamboat for St Francisville at 6 P. M. and arrived there the next day. The following day (Sunday) I preached in the new Church in that place to a large Congregation, the Rev^d Mr Porter reading the Service. [The Rev^d Mr Fox & Rev^d Mr Richmond had proceeded to Woodville to perform public worship there]—The Church at St F. is of brick, a neat edifice, and finished, all

²⁶Rev. William Richmond.

²⁷Rev. John C. Porter.

²⁸Rev. James A. Fox.

but plastering. The Revd Mr Bowman²⁹ officiates here with encouraging prospects of success.

Monday the 4th Jan. proceeded to Woodville on horseback accompanied by the Revd Mess^{rs} Bowman and Porter, and arrived in season to attend service in the evening. Mr Bowman read the service, and Mr Richmond preached. Mr Fox and Mr Richmond had held two services in the Church the preceding day—all were fully attended. On Tuesday the 5th Jan^y the Church was Consecrated by the name of St Paul's Church, the Rite of Confirmation was administered to 9 persons, and the Revd John C. Porter was admitted to the Holy Order of Priests.—Rev^d Mr Richmond & Mr Fox conducted the morning service, Mr Fox read the invitation, and sentence of Consecration, Mr Bowman presented the Candidate, and all joined in the laying on of hands.

On Wednesday the 6th of Jan^y we returned to St Francisville, to take passage to New Orleans.

The Church is probably regarded with less prejudice in Mississippi, than in any other part of our Country. A very large portion of the wealthy and intelligent Planters appear disposed to support its Ministry and institutions, whenever the appeal is made to them. Still the prospects of the Diocese appeared exceeding gloomy, on our arrival. The Rev^d Mr Muller³⁰ and the Rev^d Mr Wall,³¹ had just left the Diocese, and the Rev^d Mr Fox and Rev^d Mr Porter were preparing to take their departure, in company with us. But during our stay in Natches, that Congregation presented a call to the Rev^d Mr Porter, which he determined to accept.

The Parish of Natches is large, respectable, and liberal, and may pay a Clergyman 1,500 Dollars a year. It has been somewhat depressed during the difficulties in relation to the late Rector, but appears to be well united in his successor. The leading members are Dr Merrill, Dr Mercer, Mr Griffiths, Judges Turner & Quitman, Col. Huntington, Mr Ewing, Mr Purnell, Mr Merrick &c. The Church is a costly edifice of Brick, but badly arranged.

The Parish of Christ Church, Jefferson Co is made up of a few wealthy Planters and their families. They are well-established Churchmen, and will give about 600 Dollars a year to a worthy Clergyman.—Probably they would consent to his devoting one half his time to Port Gibson [neat brick edifice]. There is no other Church in this vicinity, and it is not probable that any other denomination would think of establishing one. The chief supporters of the Church are Col. Jas^s G.

²⁹Rev. William R. Bowman.

³⁰Rev. Albert A. Muller.

³¹Rev. Spencer Wall.

Wood, Jos. Dunbar, John Foster, Mr Young, Mr Green, and Mr J. G. Wood Jr.

At Port Gibson there is no Parish organized, but several persons strongly attached to it. Mr Dan^l Vertner offered to pay 100 Dollars a year towards the support of a Clergyman, (say half the time) and to guarantee 500 a year from the place, provided he should be a man of talents & worth. Besides Mr V. the principal supporters will be Col. Jo^s Callender, Dr Magruder, Mr Greenleaf, Gen. Haring &c. It would be well that a Missionary should be sent, to divide his services between this place and Vicksburg.

At Vicksburg, the persons most attached to the Church, are Mr Turnbull, Mr Cameron, Dr Bay, Mr (sic) Smyth, & Mr Berriton.

The Parish of Woodville has a neat wooden Church, well finished, with good organ & good musick. A Clergyman should be settled between this place and Pinkneyville. Woodville could raise 400 Dollars for two thirds of his time, and P. 200 dollars for the other third. The situation of Woodville is peculiarly healthy. The principal members of the Church are Gen. Joor (sic), Judges Liddell, Randolph, and Prosser, Maj. Feltus, L. R. Marshall, Dr Eccleston, and Judge Posey.

At Pinkneyville the principal men disposed to support the Church, are Dr Young, Dr Carmichael, Capt. Mulford, Ja^s Wilson, J. T. Semple, Dr Metcalf, and Fra^s Evans.—

On our way from Jefferson to Port-Gibson, we paid a visit to the Rev^d Adam Cloud, whom we found in a very low state of health, and all united in the office of the Church for the visitation of the sick.

I should add, that on our first arrival in Mississippi, I received a communication from the Standing Committee, expressive of their gratification at my visit, and requesting that I would perform such Episcopal Offices as my stay might permit.

Arrived at New Orleans, in the Tigress, on the morning of the 8th of Jan^y in company with the Rev^d Mr Fox, and met Mr Richmond, who had proceeded from St Francisville the day before us. (Received an invitation from the Committee of Arrangements to attend the Mariner's Church, to hear an Oration in honour of Gen. Jackson and his victory—but found so few people there that it was determined to abandon the celebration.) The next morning received a visit from the Wardens and Vestry, who presented a written address expressive of their satisfaction at our visit, and requesting me to Consecrate the Church, administer the Rite of Confirmation, and perform such other offices as I might think expedient. On Sunday morning (the 10th) I consecrated the Church, by the name of Trinity Church, and delivered a discourse on the occasion. The Rev^d Mr Hull³² read prayers,

³²Rev. James F. Hull.

the Rev^d Mr Richmond read the Sentence of Consecration. The Rev^d Mrss Fox, Muller, Wall and Adderly were also present and assisting. In the afternoon, the Rev^d Mr Adderly³³ read prayers, and the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached. In the evening (as there was no provision for lighting the Episcopal Church) I accepted an invitation from the Rev^d Mr Clap and his Session to officiate in the Presbyterian Church. The Rev^d Mr Fox read Prayers. The large building contained a crowded Congregation, who joined in the services and listened to the discourse with great decorum. The Rev^d Mr Clap is an avowed Arminian, and has had some trouble on this account with the Presbytery to which he belongs. He has begun a course of reading on the subject of the Ministry and other peculiarities of the Episcopal Church, with a view of connecting himself with this body. If he shall conclude to do so, there is little doubt but the greater portion of his congregation will follow him, and that he will retain the Church in which he now officiates.³⁴

On Wednesday the 13th I delivered a lecture to the Candidates for Confirmation, which was numerously attended.—On Sunday the 17th I administered the holy rite of Confirmation (in the morning) to 64 persons, and delivered a Charge; after which the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon, and made a Collection of 212 Dollars. In the afternoon, I preached, and the Rev^d Mr Muller read prayers; and in the evening the Rev^d Mr Richmond officiated in the Presbyterian Church. All our religious Services in New Orleans were well attended. The Parish of Trinity Church appeared to be in a prosperous state. The Church is an Octagon of about 60 feet in diameter, and neatly constructed of brick. The lot on which it stands is very spacious and well situated, and it is probable that a larger edifice will be erected on it at no distant day, better suited to the wants of the large Congregation.

On Monday the 18th Jan. a Convention was held in Trinity Church, pursuant to previous notice, composed of the principal Episcopilians of N. Orleans, and other parts of the State, and a delegation from the Parish of St Francisville. At this meeting, I was called on to preside, and the Church in the State of Louisiana was regularly organized as a diocese, by the adoption of a Constitution & the election of a Standing Committee and other officers. It was also resolved that it is expedient to form a *Southwestern diocese*, to be composed of the Dioceses of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, and measures were

³³Rev. John T. Adderly.

³⁴He did not enter the Episcopal ministry.

taken to effect a meeting of Delegates from these Diocesses, to consummate the object.

The Rev^d Mr Bowman informed me while at N. O. that my visit to St Francisville had been attended with Salutary effects, and that at a meeting of the Vestry &c. the day after my departure, the sum of 1,100 Dollars was raised—a sum adequate to the payment of the debts, and the completion of the Church.

There is little doubt that Churches may be established at many places in Louisiana. The great portion of the intelligence and ability of this Country is in favour of it, and there are few prejudices against it. Judge Dutton of Plaquemine, desired me to send to his vicinity a Clergyman, (who would be willing to receive a few scholars) with an assurance that he would be liberally supported.—Mr Bradish, who lives about 40 miles below N. Orleans made to me a similar application, in his own name, and that of Mr & M^{rs} Osgood and others; offering himself to give 60 Acres of excellent land for a Glebe, and informing me that he and his neighbours would unite in building on it a good brick Church and a brick parsonage. The Rev^d Mr Wall, by my advice, has gone to Franklin, in the district of attakappas. I hear that Churches may be readily established at Donaldsonville, (the Capital of the State) at Alexandria, on the Red River, at (sic) on the la fourche, and doubtless there are many other promising locations. The principal people of Baton Rogue (sic) are Episcopalians, and are now supporting a Presbyterian Clergyman, for the want of one of their own Communion.

While at N. Orleans, we lodged with the Rev^d Mr Hull, and were very hospitably entertained by the principal Episcopalians of the City.—The Rev^d Mr Fox remains in the City, and may probably become assistant to the Rev^d Mr Hull. If this arrangement should not take place, he thinks of a removal to Tallahassee. In any event he has promised to visit Mr Bradishes place, and assist in the organization of a Parish there, and encourage the building of a Church and parsonage, as was proposed. The Rev^d Mr Adderly proceeds to Maryland, and the Rev^d Mr Muller accompanied us to Mobile, with a view of settling at Tuscalosa.

Left New Orleans, Wednesday Jan^y 20th in the Steam Boat Mount Vernon, and proceeded to Mobile, by the way of Lakes Ponchartrain, Borgne, and the Gulph. Arrived at Mobile Jan^y 21st in the evening, and the next morning took up our residence with Mr George Poe.—The Parish here was in a much better state than we had anticipated. The Church was built by different denominations, of whom the largest subscribers were Episcopalians; under the conditions, that the Clergy-

man should be annually called by the majority of the proprietors, till by a vote of two thirds it should be determined to what denomination it should permanently belong. For want of an Episcopal Clergyman, a Presbyterian had annually been employed, till about a year ago, when the Rev^d Mr Shaw³⁵ visited the place. He was then called, to alternate with the Rev^d Mr Murphy, their former Clergyman. At the annual meeting this year, on the 1st of Jan^y the Rev^d Mr Shaw was called, as the sole minister, with only one dissenting proprietor and with a salary of 2,000 dollars. It was supposed that two thirds of the proprietors would be ready to decide on the Episcopal character of the Church, but as some of the proprietors friendly to the measure were absent, it was thought best to defer it to another year.

On Sunday the 24th Jan^y I preached on the subject of Baptism in the morning; and on Confirmation in the afternoon, when I administered that holy rite to 26 persons. There were 19 Baptisms during my stay in Mobile—8 adults, and 11 Children. In the evening of Sunday the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon, and made a collection of 47 dollars to be expended for services in the State. This sum we paid over to the Rev^d Mr Muller, according to previous understanding. He goes to Tuscaloosa and Greensburg, and we have promised to recommend him as a Missionary well qualified to receive the patronage of the general Society. We learn from Tuscaloosa, that a Brick Church is in the course of erection, and is already under cover, and that the people are anxiously waiting for the services of a Missionary. We also learn from Greensburg (about 30 miles distant) that the principal inhabitants are Episcopalians; and it was arranged with some of the Gentlemen whom we met at Mobile that the Rev^d Mr Muller should devote a part of his labours to Greensburg, till further instructions. [Mem. Huntsville—Florence.]

On Monday the 25th of Jan^y according to previous notice, a Convention was held at Mobile, for the purpose of more fully organizing the Church in Alabama. It was attended by the principal Episcopalians in Mobile, and by Gentlemen from Tuscaloosa and Greensburg. After the meeting was organized, a deputation invited me to the Chair. The Rev^d Mr Muller was elected Secretary. A Diocesan Constitution was adopted, and a Standing Committee and other officers elected. A resolution was also passed declaring it expedient to unite with the States of Louisiana and Mississippi for the formation of a South-western Diocese, and proposing the election of delegates for that purpose.

On Thursday evening, the 28th Jan^y we left Mobile, on board

³⁵Rev. Henry M. Shaw.

the Steam Boat *Tuscumbie*, and proceeded up the Alabama river, on our way to *Montgomery*, and the north.

On Sunday morning we arrived at *Selma*, and hearing that the low state of the river would render the further navigation difficult, we thought it expedient to land here. The Clergyman of the Presbyterian Church immediately called on us, and invited us to officiate in the House of worship there, which was designed to be common to all denominations. Accordingly I preached in the morning, *M^r Richmond* reading the service; and in the afternoon *M^r (sic)* performed the service and preached himself.—We spent Sunday night with *Col. And^{ew} Pickens*, about three miles from the village. He was formerly my fellow *Collegian*,³⁶ and has since been Governor of the State of South Carolina. On Monday we joined with *M^r Dallas* of Philadelphia, and took a carriage for *Montgomery*, where we arrived on Tuesday afternoon. By invitation, I officiated in the *Methodist Church* in that place in the evening. The service was respectably attended, though a large portion of the population of the village found a stronger attraction at the *Theatre*.

I ought to have mentioned that while at *Mobile*, we visited the grave of the lamented *Judd*,³⁷ the Missionary of the Society for *Tuscaloosa*. He died at the house of the *Rev^d M^r Shaw* of *Mobile*, and during his sickness there received every kindness and attention from the family of *M^r Shaw*, and from other sympathizing friends. His departure was ordered in much mercy to himself, being unattended with pain or suffering; and his resignation and christian hopes, as well as his affectionate exhortations to his friends seem to have left a lasting impression of his devoted piety, and of the triumphs of the christian faith. He was buried in the graveyard, about a mile from the city, and his body lies beside that of the late *Col. King*,³⁸ near the eastern entrance of the grave yard, and on the right hand. It is to be hoped that the Society will order a suitable stone to be erected to mark the place of his interment.

On Wednesday morning (Feb. 3) we left *Montgomery* for the north, and thus completed the *Tour of Visitation* recommended to me by the Society.

Feby. 6th (Saturday) arrived at *Milledgville*; where we spent Sunday. I officiated in the *Presbyterian Church* (by invitation) in the morning, and *M^r Richmond* in the afternoon.

Monday 8th Feby proceeded to *Augusta*, where we arrived on Tuesday evening. Spent Wednesday in *Augusta*, and I officiated in the

³⁶*Brown University, 1801.*

³⁷*Rev. William H. Judd, who died August 7, 1829.*

³⁸*Col. William King, who died January 1, 1826.*

Rev^d M^r Smith's³⁹ Church in the evening.—Thursday morning, at 2 O'Clock, started for Savannah, and arrived there at day-light on Friday morning.—On Sunday the 14th I preached for the Rev^d M^r Neufville,⁴⁰ in the morning and afternoon, and the Rev^d M^r Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon in the evening, and made a collection amounting to 92²⁰ Dollars, to be expended on Missions in the State of Georgia.

There is a Society in Augusta, auxiliary to the Gen. Missionary Society, with Funds amounting to 1,200 Dollars, which are retained in the Savings Bank till a Missionary shall be appointed for Georgia to be aided by them. There is also a similar Society in Savannah with Funds amounting to about 1,000 Dollars, awaiting the appropriation of the Society for Missions in Georgia.

From the information we have been able to obtain, there is no doubt but two or three Missionaries might be profitably employed in Georgia. In Macon, a Congregation has been organized, but is now languishing for the want of a Minister. There are yet several Episcopal families, and there is said to be a fair opening for the establishment of a flourishing Congregation. Milledgeville, the capital of the State, is also an important Station for a Missionary. There are already a few Episcopalians in the place, and no doubt is entertained that a popular Clergyman would soon form a good Congregation. If only one Missionary can be sent, it would probably be adviseable for him to officiate alternately at Macon and Milledgeville. Another Missionary establishment is thought desirable at Athens, which is the seat of the University of Georgia.

Tuesday Feby 16th we left Savannah, in the Steam Boat, for the City of Charleston, where we arrived on Wednesday at 12 O'Clock. The Convention of the Diocese had just commenced its Session there, and we arrived in Season to hear the Bishop's Address.—On Sunday the 21st I officiated at St Michaels, in the morning; but was interrupted early in the discourse by the alarm of Fire, which occurred in the vicinity of the Church. In the afternoon, I preached a Missionary Sermon in St Philip's Church, and made a collection of 125 Dollars. A lady afterwards sent me 10 Dollars to add to the collection. Another Lady handed me 50 Dollars, as a "Widows Mite", from St Michael's Church.—The Rev^d M^r Richmond preached in the morning, on Missions, in St Paul's Ch. without making a collection. In the afternoon he officiated in St Michael's Ch. and in the evening, he preached the Anniversary Sermon for "Young Men's Missionary Society" in St Stephen's Church,

³⁹Rev. Hugh Smith.

⁴⁰Rev. Edward Neufville.

and made a Collection of 100 Dollars, which sum was voted as a Donation to the Gen. Missionary Society.—In addition to the above sum, M^{rs} Dehon⁴¹ handed us 6 Dollars, for the purpose of making her two sons members of the Society.

On Monday the 22^d at sunset, we left Charleston on our way homeward. Travelling day and night, we arrived at Raleigh on Thursday morning. Here we remained a day, for the purpose of rest, and to see the R^t Rev^d Bp. Ravenscroft, whom we had learned was dangerously ill. We found the Bishop in a very feeble and emaciated state, affording scarcely a hope of his recovery, and awaiting the time of his departure with the most perfect resignation and composure.⁴² He had caused a door to be cut in the floor of the Chancel of the Church, and his grave to be dug there, and had caused a plain pine Coffin to be made to contain his body. The calmness with which he has caused these arrangements to be made, and the strong faith and hope in which he awaits the summons for his departure cannot fail to afford a salutary lesson to all who enjoy the benefit of his example. [M^{rs} Freeman's contribution—2.00.]

On Friday morning, we again resumed our journey, and arrived at Richmond at 3 O'Clock on Sunday morning (28th Feb) where we spent the day. I preached for Bishop Moore in the morning, and the Rev^d M^r Richmond in the afternoon. The Bishop declined having a collection for the Society, as the Rev^d M^r Weller had obtained subscriptions there about nine months before, amounting to four or five hundred Dollars. Monday morning, at 3 O'Clock, we proceeded on our way again, and arrived at the City of Washington on Tuesday morning (March 2^d) about sunrise.

Sunday March 7th Preached a Missionary Sermon in St John's Church in the morning, and made a collection of 56—³⁰ Dollars.—In the afternoon preached in Christ Church, when a collection of 10 Dol^s was taken up for the Society, which was paid over to M^r Richmond. In the evening I preached for Rev^d M^r Johns⁴³ in Trinity Church. On the same day the Rev^d M^r Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon in Trinity Church, and made a collection of 40—⁵⁰ Dollars. In the afternoon he preached in St John's Church; and in the evening in Georgetown, where he made a collection of 10—¹⁰⁰ Dollars.

⁴¹Widow of Bishop Dehon.

⁴²Died March 5, 1830.

⁴³Rev. Henry Van Dyke Johns.

During our visit to Washington, we visited Alexandria and the Theological Seminary in its vicinity.

On monday the 8th I proceeded to Baltimore, leaving the Rev^d Mr Richmond at Washington. The next day I continued my journey, and arrived at Philadelphia in the evening.

Spent Wednesday the 10th in Philadelphia. Settled with the Treasurer of the Society and paid over to him the money remaining in my hands. In the evening I met the executive Committee of the Society, and recommended the appointment of the Rev^d Mr Weller as Missionary at Nashville, the Rev^d Mr Freeman, as Missionary in Kentucky, and the Rev^d Mr Muller or some other suitable person as Missionary to Tuscalosa in Alabama. After adjournment I attended a meeting in St Paul's Church in behalf of the Greek Mission.

Thursday the 11th I proceeded to N. York. Saturday the 13th March I took the Steam Boat for Hartford, and arrived at my home the following day at 1 O'Clock.

During a journey of about 6,000 miles, performed in four Months and 9 days, I have been graciously preserved from every danger to which I may have been exposed. Nothing has occurred to mar the satisfaction of my journey, or to frustrate the benefits to be expected from it, and I have been permitted to join my family and friends again, under circumstances of the richest mercy. May I be suitably grateful for these unmerited favours, and may the great Head of the Church pour forth abundant blessings on my unworthy labours.⁴⁴

MEMORANDUM

TOUR OF 1834

Left Hartford, accompanied by Mr^s B. and Sarah, on the 10th day of Nov^r 1834, on a visit to New Orleans, at the request of the Wardens and Vestry of that Parish, and with a view to the benefit of Mr^s Brownells health—Spent two nights at New Haven, on our way, staying at Mr A. Heatons—Remained in New York, at Mr Hillyer's till the 18th Nov. when we embarked on board the Ship Louisville for New Orleans. Among our fellow passengers were the Rev^d R. A. Henderson of Philadelphia, Capt. L. S. Gale and family from Newport, Mr & Mr^s Lee, Mr Palmer, & Mr Boyd of N. York, Mr Fairfax Cat-

⁴⁴In "A Sketch of the Early History of the Church in Louisiana," printed in the Journals of the Conventions of the Diocese of Louisiana, 1838-1842, pp. 37-39, there is no reference to this visit of Bishop Brownell in 1829. The story begins with his visit of 1834, which was not an official visit as was that of 1829.

lett of Virginia, M^{rs} Majeia (Maheia) of Mexico, M^r Greer B. Duncan of New Orleans, M^{rs} Smith of Hartford, &c. &c. After a pleasant passage of 14 days, we arrived at New Orleans on the 3^d of December. The Wardens of the Church, and others met us with a cordial welcome, and conducted us to the house of M^r Lucius C. Duncan, where we were received with great hospitality and requested to consider it as our home during our residence in New Orleans.

After officiating at New Orleans five weeks, the Vestry requested that I would go to Alabama to attend the Convention and to promote measures for the organization of the South Western Diocese, agreeable to the provisions of the special Canon of the General Convention of 1832. Accordingly we took the Steam Boat for Mobile, on the 7th Jany 1835, but owing to a storm did not arrive till the 9th.—On Sunday the 11th I officiated in Mobile, and in the afternoon confirmed 17 persons. A meeting of the Parish was held during my visit, when a committee was appointed to take measures for building a new Church. On Tuesday evening, the 13th Jan. I took the Steam Boat for Tuscaloosa, accompanied by the Rev^d M^r Pinney,⁴⁵ and by M^r Meakings, a lay delegate to the Convention. Arrived at Tuscaloosa on Saturday the 17th. On Sunday the 18th Consecrated the Church, in the morning, by the name of Christ Church, and in the afternoon Confirmed 7 persons. Monday the 19th being the day appointed for the Convention, I preached the Convention Sermon, and after divine service took my seat as President of the Convention, under the 7th Canon of the Gen. Convention.

Returned to Mobile the 24th and preached in that place twice on Sunday the 25th Jany.

On the 26 Jan. took the Steam Boat for N. Orleans, where we arrived in safety on the following day.

Having understood that there was to be a special Convention of the Diocese of Mississippi, to be held at Nachez, on the 23^d of Feby in regard to the organization of the S. W. Diocese, I was requested by the Vestry of Christ Church to attend it. I therefore embarked on board the Steam Boat Ellen Douglass on the 19th and arrived at Natchez on the 21st.—On Sunday the 22^d preached at Natchez.—Presided by request, at the Convention held on the 23^d & 24th Feby and left again for N. Orleans (accompanied by the Rev^d M^r Connelly⁴⁶) on the 27th.

Attended the Convention of the S. W. Diocese at N. Orleans on the 4th and 5th of March; but took no part in the proceedings, except by way of advice and information.

On Sunday the 12th April, held a Confirmation in Christ Church,

⁴⁵Rev. Norman Pinney.

⁴⁶Rev. Pierce Connelly.

when 35 persons received the imposition of hands.—On the following day I confirmed Mrs Baldwin (a sick lady) at her own house, together with her Son, and Nephew—making in all 38 persons confirmed.—On the Sunday following (Easter) I administered the holy Communion to 71 persons. About a fortnight previous to the Communion I requested all those who wished to receive that Sacrament for the first time to send me their names that I might confer with them on the subject. Accordingly, previous to the administration at Easter, 17 names were sent me, all of whom were enrolled as Communicants.

On Easter Monday, I wrote a Note to the Vestry, informing them of my purpose to leave the City by the first good Boat after the following Sunday. A few days afterwards a Committee of the Vestry waited on me with a complimentary Resolution of that body, containing their thanks &c. for the services I had rendered.

On my arrival in New Orleans, I found the parish much depressed and discouraged. Some members of the Congregation were attending other Churches, others were in the habitual neglect of public worship. There was also a deep-rooted difficulty in regard to the building of a new Church, and especially in regard to its location. After I had officiated a week or two the Vestry requested that I would address the Congregation on the affairs of the Parish. On the following Sunday, after Sermon, I accordingly addressed to them some conciliatory and encouraging remarks. As either of the proposed locations of the Ch. were sufficiently convenient, I endeavoured to shew them that *unanimity* was much more important than the choice between them. I inculcated the absolute necessity of building a new Church to give stimulus and animation to the Parish, and to collect a Congregation of sufficient ability to support a Clergyman of the highest character. In connexion with a new Church, I urged the call of a permanent Rector, who should command the confidence of the Parish and the respect of the public; and I suggested the expediency of immediate measures for the organization of the S. W. Diocese and the election of a Bishop, who should at the same time be the Rector of the Parish.

Before my departure, I had the satisfaction of seeing all these objects in a fair way of accomplishment, through the blessing of divine Providence. The Congregation had been rallied together again. The Rev^d Dr Hawks⁴⁷ had been unanimously elected Bishop of the S. W. Diocese and Rector of the Parish. The difficulties in regard to the location of a new Church had been happily settled, and the Pewholders had unanimously voted to enter on the work. Forty thousand dollars

⁴⁷Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D. He accepted, and the General Convention approved. Later Dr. Hawks declined. Nothing more came of the S. W. Diocese.

(the sum required) had been raised, and a judicious plan of the edifice had been adopted by the building Committee. I shall always feel grateful to God for the instrumentality I was permitted to exercise for the good of his Church, as well as for his blessing on my unworthy exertions; and I devoutly pray that the smiles of his favour may attend the furtherance of this good work, for without this favour nothing is perfect, nothing is stedfast.

During my brief ministry in New Orleans, which was exercised in conjunction with the Rev^d Mr Fox, till the 2^d of March, and after that alone, I preached every *Sunday* when I was in town, and also at Christmas, and Ash Wednesday, and Good Friday—Baptized 10 Infants, and two adults—Confirmed 38 persons—Administered the Lord's Supper at Christmas and Easter, and admitted 17 new Communicants. I attended only one funeral, that of Mr William Bullitt.

On Sunday, the 26th April, I took leave of the Congregation; and on the following day, at 4 O'Clock P. M. took my departure from New Orleans, in the Steam Boat Homer, for Louisville.

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LEONIDAS POLK, 1839
Missionary Bishop of the Southwest

LEONIDAS POLK

BISHOP AND GENERAL

April 10, 1806 ---- June 14, 1864

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LEONIDAS POLK

EARLY LIFE AND PRESBYTERATE

*By William Wilson Manross, Ph. D.**

THE history of the United States, until the close of the last century, was, in a large degree, the history of westward movement. Its first phase was the discovery and exploration, by restless Europeans, of the American continents. Its second phase saw the establishment by Europeans of a permanent foothold upon the coastal plain of North America. During the eighteenth century a third phase began as the ever increasing flow of immigration from the Old World, combined with some of the descendants of earlier settlers, started pressing into the interior, gradually penetrating the mountain barrier which separates the coastland from the gigantic valley that is drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries.¹

Among the swarm of pioneers who pushed into western North Carolina during the middle years of the eighteenth century was a young man named Thomas Polk, who settled in Mecklenburg County in 1753. His family, originally called Pollock, belonged to that sturdy Scotch-Irish stock which populated so much of the plateau region, but he was probably better off than many of his companions, for his people already possessed a respectable grant of land in the colony of Maryland. Whether because of this advantage, which, perhaps, enabled him to set forth a little better equipped than others, or because of his own energy and ability, or both, he prospered in the new country and early attained to a certain amount of local prominence.²

North Carolina was always a turbulent province, and in 1772 the bitterness which existed in all the colonies between the western sections and the more settled areas along the coast flared up there into open warfare, when some of the most discontented of the westerners banded together under the name of "regulators" to resist the authority of the colonial government. Their revolt was expressive not only of resentment against the domination of the eastern counties, but also of a general dislike for the prevailing order of things, and Thomas Polk,

*Fellow and Tutor in the General Theological Seminary, and author of "A History of the American Episcopal Church," 1935. Ed. Note.

¹F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, New York, 1920, pp. 67-125.

²W. M. Polk, *Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General*, New York, 1915, vol. I, pp. 1-5.

as one of the more substantial members of the community, opposed them and was instrumental in putting them down.³ When, however, a more general movement developed for the assertion of colonial rights against the authority of parliament, he espoused it, and was supposed to have been one of the authors of the legendary "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" in 1775. He became an officer in the Continental Army early in the Revolution and, partly as the result of his military exploits, and partly from his success in presenting his own claims to promotion, emerged from the war with the title of general. His son, William Polk, also served throughout the struggle, and came out of it with the rank of colonel.⁴

After the treaty of peace, William Polk settled down to become, like his father, a well-to-do planter and local dignitary, serving in the state legislature and, later, as supervisor of internal revenue for the district of North Carolina. He also took an interest in the development of the extreme western part of the state, which was later to become Tennessee. He married twice, becoming the father of two children by his first wife and twelve by his second. As a trustee of the University of North Carolina, he doubtless thought it his duty to take an interest in cultural matters, and the names which he conferred upon most of his children display the sentimental classicism which was fashionable among educated people during the revolutionary and early national periods. To the son with whom we are particularly concerned, who was born in Raleigh, April 10, 1806, was given the appellation of Leonidas, expressive equally of the literary and the military interests of his sire.⁵

Of the home life of the Polks and the childhood of Leonidas we know very little, but from what we do know, it would appear that William Polk was an affectionate and conscientious father, and, as the future Bishop of Louisiana presented, in his early manhood, a fair approximation to the dashing and high-spirited southerner of tradition, it is probably safe to assume that his upbringing did not differ a great deal from that of most plantation youths. He doubtless indulged freely in various outdoor activities, especially riding and hunting, and, perhaps, fighting, and participated fully in the social life of his class, yet found time, in between pleasures, to acquire as much education as was considered necessary for a gentleman. His earliest tuition, outside of the home, as was usual in those days, was received in a local "academy"

³W. M. Polk, *Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General*, New York 1915, vol. I, p. 5; Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, New York, 1912, vol. III, p. 122, n.

⁴Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 6-46. Most historians now agree in rejecting the authenticity of the "Mecklenburg Declaration" as traditionally represented. Channing, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 161.

⁵Ibid., pp. 47-63.

taught by a clergyman, who prepared him for the University of North Carolina, where he matriculated in 1821.⁶

Being fifteen years old when he entered college, Polk was probably about the average age in his class, for American colleges, in the first half of the nineteenth century, both in the ages of their students, and in their curricula, bore a closer resemblance to a modern boarding school than to the colleges and universities of today. They resembled many boarding schools, also, in their theory of discipline, which consisted chiefly of the notion that if the students were kept busy enough with prescribed duties they could be kept out of mischief. At the University of North Carolina the students were expected to rise at half past five, and to spend the time from then until eight in "chapel duties and recitation". Breakfast was from eight until nine. The hours from nine to twelve were devoted to the preparation and recitation of the Greek lesson, after which one hour was allowed for "relaxation and exercise". Dinner was at one. At two they were supposed to begin the preparation of their Latin lesson, which they recited at four. Evening chapel was at five, and was followed by supper. After supper the students were allowed to relax until eight, when they were required to go to their rooms to prepare their geometry lesson for the next morning. Saturday evening was supposed to be their own, but some of this scanty leisure had to be devoted to the preparation of compositions which must be presented in class every two weeks.⁷

We have no evidence to indicate whether this rigid program had the desired effect of maintaining good order on Chapel Hill, but if it did, the University of North Carolina was a shining exception among its contemporaries, for collegiate discipline generally was then much worse than at present, lax though it often is now. Four years before Polk entered college, for instance, the students of Princeton, in a burst of exuberance, tied up all the tutors and one of the professors in their rooms, broke into the belfry at midnight, rang the college bell for twenty minutes, broke several windows, and attempted to set fire to an outhouse before they were dispersed by the professor, who had finally succeeded in untying himself.⁸ At Harvard, about the same time, the whole student body, resenting the suspension of some of their number as the result of a riot in the common, staged what would now be called a strike, by gathering under a tree, thereafter called the Rebellion Tree, and refusing to attend classes. Rain drove them from the tree, but they spent the rest of the day on the porch of University

⁶Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 63-4.

⁷Polk to his father, Mar. 10, 1823, *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁸S. S. Smith to J. H. Hobart, Jan. 18, 1817, in *Morgan Dix, History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, New York, 1905, vol. III, p. 143.

Hall, and the "rebellion" was only put down by "a new crop of rustications and suspensions."⁹ At Kenyon, where something of frontier crudeness still prevailed, a student in the "junior department" (really a grammar school) drew a pistol on an instructor who attempted to discipline him.¹⁰ Even thirty years later, when some students brought a live calf into a Yale classroom, they merely excited the professor to remark that he thought they had better get along with their usual number that day.¹¹

One reason for these disorders was probably the fact that the usual college program offered no healthy outlet for the physical energies of youth. An hour or two a day might be allowed for "exercise and relaxation" but the student was left entirely to his own resources in taking it, for organized athletics were unknown. In most colleges the only extra-curricular activities were the literary or debating societies, of which there were at least two in nearly every institution. They usually went by some sort of classical name, and the rivalry between them was as bitter as that between college fraternities today. They furnished their members with a pleasant social life and with a training in public speaking and literary composition that was especially valuable to the large portion of the students who were intended for the legal profession or the ministry. Societies of this sort were in existence at the University of North Carolina, and Polk apparently took an active part in them, for he wrote to his father, "The society duties are to be attended to also weekly, which are of very great importance and require their portion of time."¹²

With a general and a colonel in the family and with the name of the Spartan hero to live up to, it was natural that young Polk's ambitions should turn toward the military life. The standing army of the United States was small and had been established in the face of much opposition from those who thought that such an institution was dangerous to the liberties of a republic. Though by 1823 it had come to be accepted as a necessary evil, it was still unpopular with many of the common people, especially in the North,¹³ but to the planter class in the South, who liked to think of themselves as the American equivalent of the English aristocracy, it seemed that military service offered an appropriate career for a gentleman, and the academy at West Point, established in 1802, offered them an opportunity of embarking upon such a career without the unpleasant necessity of mingling with the plebeians in the ranks.

⁹Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past*, Boston, 1926, pp. 19-21.

¹⁰Heman Dyer, *Records of An Active Life*, New York, 1886, pp. 68-9.

¹¹C. M. Depew, *My Memories of Eighty Years*, New York, 1924, p. 7.

¹²Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 67.

¹³U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, New York, 1885, vol. I, pp. 43-5.

Appointment to West Point, then as now, was a prerogative of Congressmen, and while Leonidas was in the University his father's influence was exerted to secure the coveted nomination from their representative. It was finally obtained during young Polk's second year at college, and, as a result, he left before the end of the term, partly to spend some time with his family, and partly to obtain tuition in French, as no one capable of teaching the language could be found on Chapel Hill. His appointment merely entitled him to take the stiff entrance examinations of the Academy, but these he passed without difficulty, and in June, 1823, at the beginning of the summer encampment, he became a full-fledged cadet.¹⁴

The period of Polk's cadetship was destined to be a prominent one in the history of West Point because of the distinction later attained by many who were then in the corps. Among his contemporaries were three of the most brilliant of the confederate generals, Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston and Joseph E. Johnston, and the future president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis. On the other side, in the Civil War, was Robert Anderson, the commander of Fort Sumter. Yet another contemporary, Francis Vinton, like Polk, left the army for the priesthood, and became a prominent clergyman and professor in General Seminary.¹⁵

It is indicative of Polk's ability and force of character that he became one of the outstanding leaders in this distinguished student body. He is described by one who knew him then as being "a boy of fine presence, fine form, graceful bearing, full of life, ready for anything, generous, consistent."¹⁶ Later report pictured him, in the early years of his cadetship, as something of a reveler, but this may be no more than the natural tendency to exaggerate the previous waywardness of a convert. Certainly, he was not too gay for hard work, for he maintained a high standing throughout his career, serving as staff sergeant to the commandant in his second year, and later, as orderly sergeant. His rank was lowered in his final year because of a violation of the rules governing the examination in drawing. These rules had been broken with impunity by the students for several years past, and, in attempting to revive their enforcement, the authorities punished only a few of the offenders. Polk resented this as an injustice, and, with characteristic energy, appealed to the Secretary of War, but without result. Nevertheless, in his last term at West Point he was

¹⁴Polk *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 66-9.

¹⁵William Carus, *Memorials of the Right Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine, D. D., D. C. L., Late Bishop of Ohio in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, New York, 1882, pp. 23-4; Morgan Dix and others, *Francis Vinton, Priest and Doctor*, New York, 1873, pp. 17-8.

¹⁶Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 74.

placed in command of the new men. He finally graduated eighth in his class.¹⁷

Religion had not played a very important role in Polk's life before he came to West Point, nor did it during the early years of his stay there. If William Polk was a religious man, he did nothing to show it. Though he did not openly scoff at Christianity, as so many of his contemporaries did, he made no effort to provide his children with a religious upbringing, and circumstances gave Leonidas little opportunity of finding elsewhere what he failed to find at home. As the planter-aristocrats, even when not religious themselves, retained the tradition that, if a gentleman were religious, he ought to be religious in the Episcopalian way, they did not, to any great extent, fall under the influence of the other denominations which were making such headway among the less prosperous classes in the South, and the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, which had never been very strong, became totally inactive after the Revolution, except for a feeble attempt, during the period of reorganization, to have its one clergyman made a bishop.¹⁸ It did not become organized as a diocese until 1817,¹⁹ and, at its second regular convention, in 1818, the committee on the state of the Church declared, "It is now but little more than a year since there has been a hope of the revival of the Church in this State."²⁰ In 1821, when the diocesan convention met in Raleigh, it found no Episcopal church there, and had to hold its services in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, which were kindly offered for its use.²¹

To anyone who knew West Point in 1823 it would have seemed exceedingly unlikely that Polk would find there the religious faith that he had failed to acquire elsewhere. The Deism which had been so fashionable among American intellectuals during the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods, was, by this time, rapidly disappearing before the advance of a new pattern of Christian thought and practice which went by the name of "Evangelicalism," but it still retained its hold over a large portion of the medical and military professions.

American Deism received its inspiration from French eighteenth century rationalism, and, as West Point was modeled after the Military Institute of France, the Gallic influence was strong there. Most of the text books were in French, and French was the only subject, besides

¹⁷Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 69-101.

¹⁸William White, *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, Philadelphia, 1820, pp. 216-7; W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, New York, 1859, pp. 315-7.

¹⁹Diocese of North Carolina, *Journals of Conventions, 1817 and 1818*, Fayetteville, 1821, pp. 1-5.

²⁰Ibid., p. 9.

²¹Diocese of North Carolina, *Journal of Convention, 1821*, Fayetteville, 1821, p. 3.

mathematics, that was taught during the first year of the course.²² It was natural, therefore, that French fashions in theology should prevail there, even after they had begun to lose their popularity elsewhere, but their reign was not to last much longer. During the period of Polk's residence at West Point the forces of Evangelical Christianity stormed that citadel and took it.

The man who led the attack, and, for some time, carried on the battle single-handed, was a young Episcopal minister, the Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine, who was later to become, as Bishop of Ohio, one of the outstanding leaders of the Church during the middle years of the century. When he came to West Point he was twenty-five years old, and his only previous pastoral experience had been as rector of Christ Church, Georgetown, D. C., to which parish he had been called while still studying for the ministry, before he was old enough to be ordained deacon. One of his parishioners at Georgetown was John C. Calhoun, who was then Secretary of War, with whom McIlvaine formed a close personal friendship. In 1825 Calhoun offered his young pastor the post of chaplain and instructor in mathematics at West Point. McIlvaine hesitated to accept, both because of his youth and because of the well known prevalence of "infidelity" at the academy, but at length a sense of duty, combined with the hope of improving his own and his wife's health by removal to a more northerly climate, induced him to do so.²³

McIlvaine found that the religious condition of the Point had not been painted in too gloomy colors by those who had described it to him. The officers were polite and friendly, and willing to assist him in carrying out the formal part of his duties, but not one of them would profess the least interest in religion. The cadets he saw but seldom outside of chapel and the classroom. The regulations only allowed them to call on the faculty, or anyone outside of the barracks, on Saturday afternoon, and their own shyness and the fear of being thought religious, prevented them calling on the Chaplain even then. For a year the young minister continued his bold and uncompromising preaching of the Gospel without producing the slightest observable effect, but with an effect beneath the surface, which, when it finally burst into view, was to surprise him, even more than others, with its magnitude. McIlvaine was known, throughout his life, as one of the great preachers of his denomination, and his sermons during that dark and discouraging year had touched the hearts of his youthful hearers more deeply than either he or they realized.

Toward the end of his first year, a cadet finally did come to see

²²Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 69-73; Grant, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-9.

²³Carus, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-21.

McIlvaine—not because he was ready to admit any interest in religion, but because he had promised his father to call on the Chaplain. Even this promise had not been sufficient to overcome his reluctance to visit a parson, until the news of his father's death had roused him to belated obedience. He was polite and respectful, but he seemed impervious to religious instruction. However, McIlvaine presented him with two tracts, requesting him to read one himself and to drop the other somewhere in the barracks, in the hope that it might fall into the hand of someone who would benefit by it. The cadet promised compliance, and, perhaps in a spirit of sport, dropped the second tract, a popular summary of the evidences for Christianity, into the room of Leonidas Polk.

Though he may not have known it, McIlvaine's messenger had chosen an opportune time for his involuntary missionary work. Polk was still brooding over the rejection of his appeal to the Secretary of War, and, in the course of that brooding, had evidently reached a point at which he was prepared to recognize the possibility that his system of values could bear reexamination. He read the tract with an attention that he had not previously given to the claims of Christianity. It brought to a head the impressions which he had half-consciously received from the Chaplain's sermons. Just one week after the tract had been sent forth "as bread upon the waters," Polk appeared in McIlvaine's quarters, too choked with emotion for coherent speech. After several ineffectual attempts to make himself understood, he was finally able to stammer: "Tell me what I must do—I have come about my soul. I know not what I want—I am entirely in the dark. What must I seek? Where must I go?" He left the Chaplain's study a confessed Christian, never to "once relent his first avowed intent to be a pilgrim."

Forty days later he was baptized, together with another cadet, W. B. Magruder, later a general, in the presence of the entire corps. It was an impressive scene, and its impressiveness was not lost on those who were present. McIlvaine addressed a brief sermon to the candidates, to impress them with the significance of their vows, and Polk was so moved by his words that, at one point, he interrupted with a solemn "Amen". Thirty-eight years later, when the death of the bishop-general was reported in the papers of the country, one who had been an accidental spectator at his baptism wrote to McIlvaine to ask if he were not the cadet who had interrupted the Chaplain's exhortation with that heartfelt "Amen"²⁴.

Polk's conversion was the signal for a dramatic revival of religion which swept the whole institution. When it was known that

²⁴Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 89-93; Carus, *op. cit.* pp. 24-9, 176-7, 209-10; C. P. McIlvaine, *The Apostolical Commission, Gambier, 1838*, pp. 36-9.

this dashing and handsome cadet, a leader among his fellows, had dared to declare for Christ, others, who had, perhaps, been too timid to speak out before, no longer lacked the courage to come forward, and conversion followed conversion, until it seemed that the entire corps had been touched. So high did the feeling run, that on one occasion McIlvaine felt obliged to stop in the middle of his sermon, lest the emotions of his hearers should get out of control. "I had to stop," he said later, "and I did stop." For years afterward he continued to "hear of cases of persons, whose religious life was then seminally begun, of whom he had never heard before."²⁵

It was after his conversion that Polk was appointed orderly sergeant. The post involved the unpopular duty of compelling the senior cadets to get up on time in the morning. The enforcement of this requirement had been neglected for some years past, and the authorities, anxious to improve the discipline of the Point in this respect, felt that a man of strong religious principles would be the only one who could be trusted to perform the task conscientiously. Polk performed this work faithfully, as he did the duty which was later placed upon him of commanding the first year men, but his interest in military life was already waning, as he felt himself called to another profession. Before he had graduated, he announced his intention of resigning from the army at the end of the required year of service, to enter the ministry of the Church. He wished, indeed, to seek his release at once, so that he might accept the post, which had been tendered him, of professor of mathematics in the recently founded college at Amherst, Massachusetts, where he hoped to have an opportunity of pursuing the literary studies which he thought were too much neglected at the military academy. His father was opposed to this scheme, however, and Leonidas yielded to his wishes, anxious to please him in everything in which he could, since he felt it his duty to disappoint him in his cherished dream of seeing his son in the profession which he most admired.²⁶

His graduation was followed by the usual furlough, which he spent traveling in the North. In the course of this tour he saw one of the early railroads of the country, which was used to carry stone from the Quincy quarries to the Bunker Hill Monument. He also paid a visit to the Adams homestead, which disappointed him with its plainness. At Albany he called on Martin Van Buren, whose son had been one of his classmates at West Point. Before his furlough expired, his resignation was accepted, so that he had no experience of actual military life from his training days to the time he was called to be a general in the Confederate Army.²⁷

²⁵*Carus, op. cit., pp. 29, 176-7.*

²⁶*Polk, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 93-100.*

²⁷*Ibid., pp. 101-4.*

In the fall of 1828 Polk entered the Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria.²⁸ This institution had started work four years previously, with two professors, the Rev. Reuel Keith and the Rev. William H. Wilmer, and twelve or fourteen students.²⁹ Its establishment had been the result of efforts begun by the Diocese of Virginia in 1820, whose original object had been the founding of a theological professorship at the College of William and Mary.³⁰ Its leadership, as was that of the diocese, had always been decidedly Evangelical, and after the General Seminary, as a result of its union with the New York diocesan seminary in 1821, passed to some extent under the control of Bishop Hobart and the High Churchmen.³¹ Virginia came to be looked upon by the Evangelicals as the seminary which best represented their ideals. It was natural, therefore, that the convert of so pronounced an Evangelical as McIlvaine should be sent there.

As was to be expected, the religious life was emphasized at Virginia as strongly as the intellectual—perhaps more strongly. Polk's letters do not tell us whether the weekly prayer meeting of faculty and students, which was later to become so important a feature of the seminary life,³² was already in existence or not, but he does speak of the organization of a missionary society, an augur of the important role which Virginia was to play in the missionary life of the Church, and of the informal services held by the students for the people of the neighborhood, which led to the raising of three hundred dollars toward the building of a chapel.³³ Of the formal teaching of the classroom he says little, and he was evidently not very strongly impressed with its importance, for he left the seminary before the completion of his senior year, so as to spend some time with his family before ordination, remarking in a letter to his father that "in a theological course . . . a few weeks longer or shorter could not be of material consequence."³⁴

Polk was ordained deacon on April 9, 1830, by the Right Reverend Richard Channing Moore, Bishop of Virginia.³⁵ A little less than a month later he was married to Miss Frances Devereux of Raleigh, to whom he had been engaged for several years.³⁶ His first cure was as

²⁸Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 109.

²⁹Diocese of Virginia, *Journal of Convention, 1824, Richmond, 1824*, p. 17.

³⁰Diocese of Virginia, *Journal of Convention, 1820, Richmond, 1820*, p. 13.

³¹White, *Memoirs, edition of 1880, New York, 1880*, pp. 51-2, 290. Cf. also, *Historical Magazine, September, 1936*.

³²Cornelius Walker, *The Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Sparrow, D. D., Philadelphia, 1876*, p. 114.

³³Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 118.

³⁴Ibid., p. 120.

³⁵Ibid., p. 121; Diocese of Virginia, *Journal of Convention, 1830, Richmond, 1830*, p. 9.

³⁶Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 121.

assistant to Bishop Moore in the Monumental Church, Richmond, which got its name from the fact that it had been built in 1814 as a memorial to those who had perished in a disastrous theatre fire upon its site.³⁷ The building was something of an architectural curiosity, for its designer had allowed his genius to run untrammelled, and had fused the elements of several supposedly incongruous schools into a not unpleasing whole.³⁸ Its congregation, as Polk wrote to McIlvaine, was "large, and the fashionable congregation of the city."³⁹ As Moore, like every other bishop in the American Church at that time, had to depend upon a parochial connection for his principal means of support, and as the building of the Monumental Church happened to coincide with the vacancy in the see which he was called to fill, it was natural that he should become its rector.⁴⁰

In 1830 Moore had been serving as bishop and rector for sixteen years, and had shown himself a faithful worker in both capacities. As rector he preached informally, or, as he would have said, "lectured" at least once during the week, in addition to his Sunday sermons, and founded a Sunday school and the sewing circles and missionary societies which formed a part of every well run parish. In 1824 he started a Bible class composed of "from eighty to a hundred ladies."⁴¹ We may also presume that he acted upon the advice which he himself once gave to a young minister: "No clergyman can be very successful, who does not form an intimate fire-side acquaintance with his parishioners."⁴²

To the young assistant it seemed that the sixty-eight-year-old rector was beginning to slow up. In the letter to McIlvaine from which we have already quoted, Polk complained, "The bishop is getting old, and is for peace. He is cautious and admits new plans and means with difficulty, though he is very kind and affectionate."⁴³ In other words, some of Polk's favorite schemes were discouraged by his superior, but he worked hard at his duties, nevertheless. In the summer Moore paid a visit to the North and left him in charge of the parish. So conscientiously did he attempt to fulfill his increased responsibilities that he suffered a breakdown and had to go home to recuperate. He returned to his work later in the fall, but his illness recurred during the winter, and when the summer came he was obliged to resign his position.⁴⁴ In reporting his retirement to the diocesan convention, Bishop

³⁷*G. D. Fisher, History and Reminiscences of the Monumental Church, Richmond, Va., 1814-1878, Richmond, 1880, p. 36.*

³⁸*Aymar Embury II, Early American Churches, New York, 1914, pp. 146-7.*

³⁹*Polk, op. cit., vol. I, p. 123.*

⁴⁰*J. P. K. Henshaw, Memoir of the Rt. Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D. D., Philadelphia, 1842, pp. 121-38.*

⁴¹*Fisher, op. cit., pp. 74, 89, 94-5; Polk, op. cit., vol. I, p. 123.*

⁴²*Henshaw, op. cit., p. 199.*

⁴³*Polk, op. cit., vol. I, p. 123.*

⁴⁴*I bid., pp. 124-7.*

Moore said of him, "Mr. Polk evidenced, during his ministry in Richmond, a spirit of the most ardent piety and devotion to duty; and it was with regret of no ordinary character that the Rector was obliged to accept his resignation."⁴⁵

Those who are fond of commenting upon the increase of mental disorders in modern times would do well to examine more critically the allegedly physical illnesses of our ancestors, for when one does, it is impossible to escape the conviction that many of them had their origin in the mind, rather than in the body. Nineteenth century science was decidedly materialistic, and nineteen century physicians were more inclined to look for physical causes for diseases which were apparently mental than to seek a mental origin for those whose symptoms were physical. They did, however, make a rough and ready distinction between illnesses which could be cured by taking pills and those which could be cured by taking a vacation. Polk's malady was decided to belong in the latter class, so they gave him their favorite prescription for such cases, when their patients could afford it—they told him to go to Europe.⁴⁶

In the late summer of 1831, therefore, he crossed the ocean on a trip that was to take him through France, Italy, and England. While in Europe he did the things that most Americans do—admired the scenery and the remains, grumbled at the customs officers, disapproved of Paris and tried to see the best side of the English. He returned to America in the fall of 1832 with his health considerably improved, but not fully restored, and, after spending the winter in Raleigh, decided to devote himself to farming for a time in the hope of regaining his strength. His father gave him a plantation in Tennessee, adjoining one previously given to one of his brothers, and his father-in-law provided the slaves to work it.⁴⁷

Tennessee, which had passed through its frontier stage shortly after the Revolution, was, by 1833, a prosperous and populous state, so that Polk, in following the family tradition of westward migration, was not compelled to expose himself to the hardships of pioneer life. His new farm had evidently been already cleared, for the claims of a lessee had to be settled before he could obtain possession. There was no suitable house upon it, but he was able to live with his brother while one was being built. As soon as it was ready, he could settle down to the

⁴⁵Diocese of Virginia, *Journal of Convention, 1832, Richmond, 1832*, p. 26.

⁴⁶Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 127. In this connection it is interesting to note that Polk's breakdowns became much less frequent after he was given work which was capable of absorbing his full interest. This is a phenomenon which is frequently observed in nineteenth century biographies.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 127-46.

comfortable life of a southern planter in an environment not greatly different from that which he had left behind in Carolina.⁴⁸

While, however, Tennessee was no longer a pioneer region with respect to the population generally, it was still pioneer territory for the Church. The primary convention of the diocese had been held just four years previously under the presidency of Bishop Ravenscroft, of North Carolina. At that time there were just three clergymen in the state,⁴⁹ and it was not until the year of Polk's arrival that a bishop was elected, and not until 1834 that he was consecrated.⁵⁰ He was the Reverend James Harvey Otey, rector of St. Paul's Church, Franklin, who had come to Tennessee, the second clergyman of the Church to reach the state, in 1827, at which time, as he later declared, his sole possessions were his wife, his horse, his buggy, and his fiddle.⁵¹

Polk could not remain long in such an environment without heeding the urgent call of the Church for men to carry on her work. In 1834 he agreed to take charge of St. Peter's Church, Columbia, apparently without remuneration.⁵² In the same year, the Diocese of Tennessee took the step, which may well have excited the admiration of her older sisters, of releasing her bishop from parochial labors by undertaking his entire support herself.⁵³ There is reason to believe that Polk's voluntary labor at Columbia was an important factor in making this action possible, for after his resignation, Otey felt obliged to accept the rectorship of St. Peter's, explaining to his convention that the measure was rendered necessary by the fact that his principal support was derived from that parish.⁵⁴

In the fall of 1834, Polk and his brother paid a visit to their relatives in North Carolina. During the first part of their journey they accompanied Bishop Otey, who was making a visitation of the eastern part of his diocese. At Nashville Polk preached twice, in the morning and in the evening, and the Bishop preached in the afternoon, the service being read on each occasion by the rector, the Reverend George Weller. Leaving Nashville on the morning of October 27, they reached Knoxville on the evening of Saturday, November 1. The next morning they held service in the First Presbyterian Church, by invitation of the pastor. Polk read the prayers and the Bishop preached and baptized a child. In the evening the Second Presbyterian Church

⁴⁸Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 147.

⁴⁹Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention, 1829, Nashville, 1829*, pp. 3-6.

⁵⁰Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention, 1833, Nashville, 1833*, p. 14; W. M. Green, *Memoir of the Rt. Rev. James Harvey Otey, D. D., LL. D., the First Bishop of Tennessee, New York, 1885*, p. 12.

⁵¹Green, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁵²Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 152.

⁵³General Convention, *Journal of 1835, New York, 1835*, p. 45.

⁵⁴Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention, 1839, Nashville, 1839*, p. 13.

was placed at their disposal. Bishop Otey read the service and Polk preached. The congregations at both churches were "large and attentive" but the responses, doubtless because of unfamiliarity with the service, "were few and feebly made, thus presenting our worship . . . under an unfavorable aspect."⁵⁵

In the spring of 1835 Polk went with his bishop on a missionary visit to the village of Pulaski, where the Methodist church was generously opened for their use. On Saturday they held service three times, Otey preaching in the forenoon and evening and Polk in the afternoon, and on Sunday they did the same, again preaching alternately. Though their efforts were productive of no definite results in members added to the Church, yet, "so much seriousness and fixed attention" was manifested by those to whom they preached that they felt confident they had not labored entirely in vain.⁵⁶

At the convention of 1835 Polk was evidently regarded as one of the leading clergymen of the diocese. He was chosen as clerical delegate to General Convention, trustee of General Theological Seminary,⁵⁷ corresponding secretary of the diocesan missionary society, and a member of the standing committee and the committee on applications from new churches and on the support of the episcopate.⁵⁸ He also served on a special committee which was intrusted with the painful task of investigating charges affecting the moral character of one of their brethren, the rector of Trinity Church, Clarksville. The committee was happily able to report that the charges, which had pursued the unfortunate clergyman almost since his ordination, and had been repeatedly investigated before, were unfounded, but they did express the opinion that he had not always been as prudent in his conduct as one in his position should have been.⁵⁹

In his parochial report, Polk listed nineteen baptisms, of which sixteen were of Negro children. Commenting on this fact, he said, "This is a portion of our population, for the neglect of which the Rector feels that his conscience has rebuked him. They are as fair subjects for missionary exertion . . . as any of their brethren still in the heart of Africa."⁶⁰

Polk's election as a delegate to General Convention enabled him to attend one of the most important sessions of that body ever held

⁵⁵Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention, 1835, Nashville, 1835*, p. 5.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 16.

⁵⁷Under the arrangement worked out in 1821, which continued until the latter part of the century, the trustees of General Seminary were allotted to the several dioceses in proportion to the number of their clergymen and the size of their contributions. Tennessee's share was one trustee. See footnote 31.

⁵⁸Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention, 1835*, pp. 20, 28-30.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 12-4, 20, 31-6.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 24.

in the history of the Church, for it was in that year that the epoch-making step was taken of accepting the principle that missionary work was a function of the whole Church, declaring that all members of the Church were members of the missionary society, and placing that society under the direction of a Board of Missions elected by General Convention.⁶¹ It was also in that year, and as a corollary of the foregoing measures, that a canon was adopted providing for the election of "missionary bishops," to be supported by the missionary society, for foreign fields and for states and territories of the United States not regularly organized into dioceses.

As the debates of this Convention were not published, it is impossible to tell how active a part Polk took in its deliberations. Since he was the sole clerical deputy from Tennessee, he automatically had a place on the committee on the state of the church, whose work was the summarizing of the reports of all the dioceses, and which included one clergyman from each state. More significant was his appointment to the special committee which was charged with drafting a canon on missionary bishops.⁶² The report of this committee showed the members' zeal for the missionary cause, and their lack of experience in ecclesiastical legislation. After setting forth the importance of providing bishops for missionary work, they proposed a canon which was to define the exact jurisdiction of the bishops to be chosen, and which provided that they should be "elected" by the House of Bishops on "nomination" by the House of Deputies, thus giving the Bishops only a secondary role in their choice. The House rejected this canon in favor of a substitute proposed by the Reverend James Milnor, rector of St. George's Church, New York, and one of the three who had first proposed the inclusion of all Churchmen in the missionary society.⁶³ This substitute reversed the arrangement of the committee's canon, placing the "nomination" with the Bishops and the "election" with the Deputies—i. e., it really allowed the Bishops to elect the candidate, and gave the Deputies merely the power of confirming or rejecting their choice. It also left the jurisdiction of the missionary bishops to be determined by the conventions electing them.⁶⁴

As soon as the canon was passed the Bishops proceeded to nominate and the Deputies to elect two missionary bishops to have jurisdictions in the Northwest and Southwest, respectively. They were the Reverend Jackson Kemper, rector of St. Paul's Church, Norwalk,

⁶¹General Convention, *Journal of 1835*, pp. 59, 62.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶³W. C. Doane, *A Memoir of the Life of George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey*, New York, 1860, p. 170. The other two were Doane and McIlvaine.

⁶⁴General Convention, *Journal of 1835*, pp. 66-7, 69, 72, 145-6.

Connecticut, who for many years had been assistant to Bishop White in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and who had been an active supporter of the missionary society from its earliest days, and the Reverend Francis Lister Hawks, rector of St. Thomas' Church, New York, and the pioneer historian of the American Church. Kemper accepted and began his long and useful services in the Northwest, but Hawks declined, so that the missionary jurisdiction in the Southwest was left to be filled by the next General Convention.⁶⁵

These two years, 1834 and 1835, were, for Polk, years of vigorous activity in the work of the Church and of quiet happiness at home, but they were to be followed by a renewed loss of health and by serious financial reverses. In 1837, unable to attend the diocesan convention, he submitted a report in which he declared that feeble health throughout the year past had prevented him from preaching, though he had generally been able to read services. The greater part of his parochial labors had, in fact, fallen on the shoulders of the Bishop.⁶⁶ In the year following the carelessness or incompetence of his overseer, combined with the injudicious indorsing of notes on his own part, carried away a large part of his fortune, and in the summer of 1838 he resigned from his parish, apparently feeling that he must, for a time, devote his energies to repairing his personal losses, though he did continue to hold services for the slaves of his own and neighboring plantations.⁶⁷ The Church, however, had other plans for him.

Though Polk was unable to attend the General Convention of 1838, he had friends who did, and when the question of filling the vacant missionary jurisdiction in the Southwest came before the Bishops they agreed upon him as their nominee, and the Deputies confirmed their selection. The vote on his election was not recorded in either house, but we have Bishop McIlvaine's word for it that he was chosen with "impressive unanimity."⁶⁸ The choice at first sight seems a surprising one, for of Polk's eight years in the ministry, only about four, because of persistent ill health, had been spent in active work, and that had been performed in inconspicuous fields. The preceding General Convention, however, had tried the experiment of calling a prominent rector to the work in the Southwest, and had been met with a refusal. Polk was known to those who knew him at all as a man of outstand-

⁶⁵General Convention, *Journal of 1835*, p. 82; Greenough White, *An Apostle to the Western Church*, New York, 1900, pp. 21-62; E. A. Duyckinck, *A Memorial of Francis L. Hawks*, D. D., LL. D., New York, 1871, p. 12.

⁶⁶Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention*, 1837, Nashville, 1837, pp. 7, 19.

⁶⁷Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 152-3; Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention*, 1839, p. 13; McIlvaine, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁶⁸General Convention, *Journal of 1838*, New York, 1838, pp. 79-80; McIlvaine, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

ing ability, endowed with the gift of leadership, who had given himself unstintingly to the service of his Master whenever he was physically able to do so. The Church evidently had faith that if he accepted the new task which she imposed upon him, he would be given the strength to perform it.

Polk was consecrated on December 9, 1838. Bishop Otey's words in reporting this event to his convention will serve as a fitting close to this part of our narrative. "Thus," he said, "we have lost from the councils of the diocese a brother well beloved, one whose personal exertions were freely contributed to promote the cause we have in hand, and one whose zeal to honor the Savior led him to be foremost in every good work."⁶⁹

⁶⁹*Diocese of Tennessee, Journal of Convention, 1839, p. 16.*

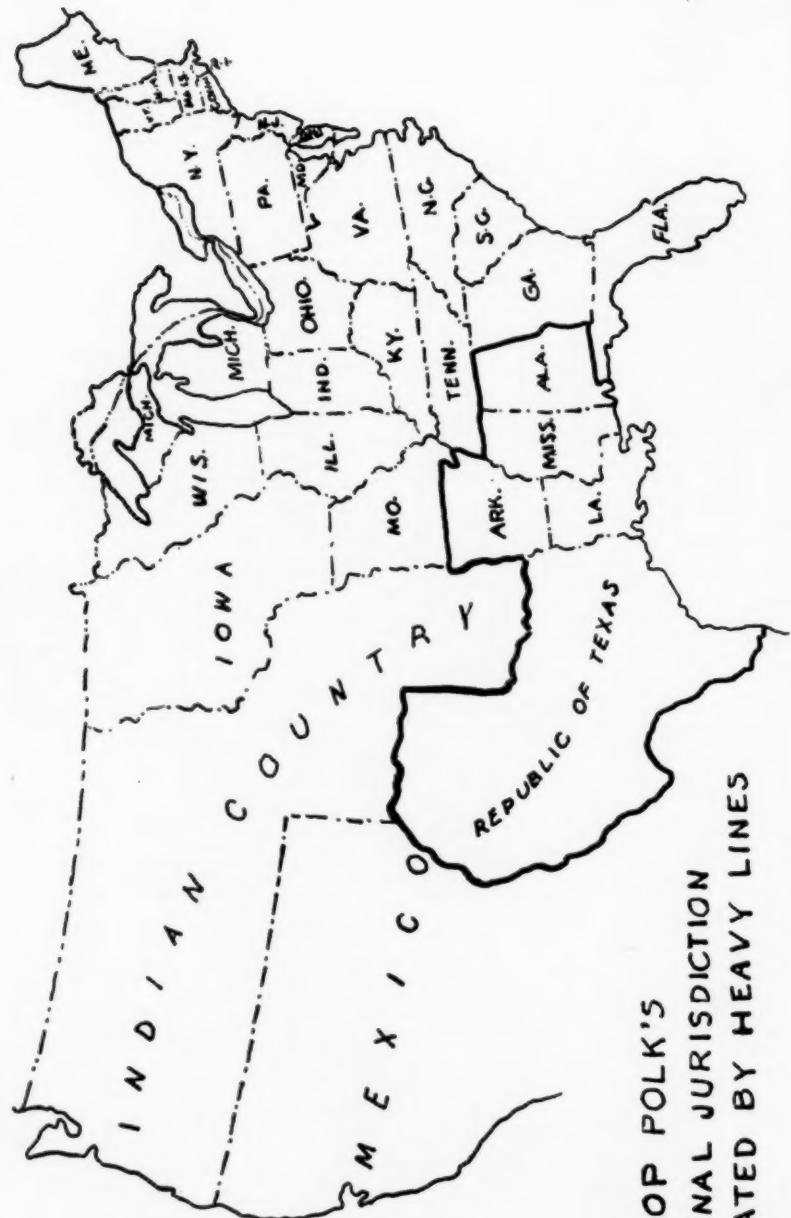
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THE UNITED STATES IN 1840



BISHOP POLK'S
ORIGINAL JURISDICTION
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POLK'S MISSIONARY EPISCOPATE

By Walter Herbert Stowe, S. T. D.

ON Saturday, September 15, 1838, in General Convention, Bishop Ives of North Carolina moved that at 12 o'clock noon the House of Bishops "proceed to nominate a missionary bishop for the state of Arkansas."¹ After spending some time in silent prayer, the bishops chose as their nominee to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies the Rev. Leonidas Polk of Tennessee "as a missionary bishop of this Church to exercise episcopal functions in the state of Arkansas." On the same day the House of Deputies "elected" Leonidas Polk as a missionary bishop and signed the required testimonials.

On December 9, 1838, Dr. Polk was consecrated to the episcopate in Christ Church, Cincinnati.²

"The occasion is described as one of thrilling and overpowering interest. Morning service was read by the Rev. William Jackson of Louisville, Kentucky, assisted in the lessons by the Rev. E. W. Peet of Chillicothe, Ohio. The antecommunion service was begun by the Rt. Rev. Bp. Meade, the Rt. Rev. Bp. McIlvaine reading the epistle and the Rt. Rev. Bp. Smith the gospel. The sermon was preached by Bp. McIlvaine.³ The Bishop-elect was presented by Bps. McIlvaine and Otey. The consecration was by Bp. Meade, Bps. McIlvaine, Smith and Otey assisting: after which the Holy Communion was administered by the bishop to the clergy present (thirteen), and to a large body of the laity."

What kind of a man had the Church elected and consecrated at the age of thirty-two, as the first missionary bishop of the Southwest with a salary of \$2,000 per year? The best pen portrait I have been able to find is that of the Rev. Dr. John Fulton⁴ who knew him intimately. Discounting the fact that Fulton's portrait is that of the Bishop in the maturity of his powers, twenty years after his conse-

¹*General Convention Journal, 1838, pp. 112, 114, 78-80, 118.*

²*Spirit of Missions, IV., 28.*

³*An extract from Bishop McIlvaine's sermon, in which he recounted the conversion of Leonidas Polk at West Point thirteen years before, is to be found in "The Spirit of Missions," IV., 89-92.*

⁴*Perry, Wm. S., "History of the American Episcopal Church," II., 563-564. Fulton was ordained by Bishop Polk on May 27, 1857, was appointed his assistant in Trinity Church, New Orleans, and was for more than a year a member of the bishop's family. See Perry, II., 583 (footnote).*

cration to the episcopate, his characterization has many elements which must have been evident in 1838:

"In his personal appearance Polk had great advantages. Of good stature and an erect military carriage, broad shoul-dered and deep in the chest, with a well-poised, shapely head, strong but finely-cut features, one lock overhanging his wide forehead, clear complexion, and keen but frank and kindly blue eyes, the first glance recognized him as a man to be obeyed; a closer scrutiny revealed him as a man whom noble men might love, and meaner men might fear.

"In scholarly attainments he was not so fortunate. His education had been mainly at West Point, and was scientific, not literary. Of classics he knew little; of theology not much. Of canon law, with the exception of our small American code, he knew nothing at all. In conversation he was wonderfully charming. In preaching and writing he was clear and vigorous, but at times diffuse. His habit of mind was to grasp at the root-principles of things, and the clear-ness of his thoughts was always apparent, though his style of composition lacked the graceful facility of expression, the fertility of illustration, and the felicity of arrangement which belong to the accomplished scholar. He was quite as con-scious of his lack in these respects as he was unconscious of his eminence in others. . . . "

Fulton goes on to describe Polk's relationship to Stephen Elliott, bishop of Georgia, and brings out certain other qualities of the former by contrast with the latter:

"The affection between Polk and Elliott was more than that of brothers. Each was the complement of the other. Polk had the greater energy; Elliott had more deliberation. Polk's plans were magnificent; Elliott had the genius of proportion. Polk aroused enthusiasm; Elliott disarmed opposi-tion. It was natural that Polk should take the lead, and Elliott loved to have it so, yet it may be doubted whether Polk would have attained the preeminent position he held among Southern bishops if Elliott had not stood by him and sup-plemented what Polk lacked."

Thus in due time it came to pass that Polk and Elliott were recog-nized, beyond all question, as the leaders of the Southern Church.

POLK'S ORIGINAL JURISDICTION

Almost from the start Dr. Polk was virtually a domestic mis-sionary bishop, a foreign missionary bishop, and a diocesan bishop. While his formal title as conferred by General Convention was prac-tically limited to "Missionary Bishop of Arkansas", three dioceses im-

mediately requested his supervision: Mississippi, organized in 1826; Alabama, organized in 1830; and Louisiana, organized in 1838. Texas' war of independence with Mexico was practically won at the battle of San Jacinto, April 21, 1836. A republican constitution was adopted in the same year and its independence was recognized in 1837 by the United States, Great Britain, France and Belgium. It was thus a "foreign" country and any missionary operations were under the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions. This committee requested Bishop Polk to visit Texas and give it episcopal oversight.

The area Polk was called to oversee was immense, over 500,000 square miles—a territory larger than that portion of the United States bounded by the Atlantic ocean on the east, the Mississippi river on the west, the Canadian border on the north, and the Ohio river and the Mason and Dixon line on the south. It contained a population of 1,500,000, counting Texas; a population which had grown over one hundred per cent during the decade 1830-1840, and was to increase over sixty per cent from 1840 to 1850. It was not the size of the population which made his task so stupendous and in many ways impossible, but its scattered character, the extent of territory, and the slow and difficult means of travel and communication. Very soon he was compelled to relinquish the care of Mississippi to Bishop Otey of Tennessee. The following table will give some idea of what was involved in his original jurisdiction:

	Ad-mitted to Union	Area Square Miles	POPULATION			
			1830	1840	1850	1860
Louisiana.....	1812	45,409	215,739	352,411	517,762	708,002
Mississippi.....	1817	46,362	136,621	375,651	606,526	791,305
Alabama.....	1819	51,279	309,527	590,756	771,623	964,201
Arkansas ⁵	1836	52,525	30,388	97,574	209,897	435,450
Republic of Texas (1836-1845).....		c 350,000 ⁶	c 20,000	c 100,000
State of Texas.....	1845	262,398 ⁷	212,592	604,215

⁵Arkansas, part of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, was organized as a territory in 1819; admitted to the union as a slave state, June 15, 1836.

⁶The Republic of Texas claimed as its western boundary (later asserted and made good by the United States), the Rio Grande River from its mouth to its source, which has its rise in the San Juan mountains of what is now southwestern Colorado, thence north to the 42nd parallel. This claim, therefore, included within the area of the Republic of Texas the eastern portions of what are now the states of New Mexico and Colorado, a corner of Wyoming, southwestern Kansas, and the panhandle of Oklahoma.

⁷By the Compromise of 1850, \$10,000,000 being paid to the state of Texas by the Federal government, the area of the state of Texas was reduced to its present limits.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN BISHOP POLK'S JURISDICTION AS OF 1838

The diocese of *Mississippi*, now twelve years old but not yet able to walk without assistance from the Board of Missions, reported to the General Convention⁸ the existence of seven congregations, four having been organized since 1835, with Vicksburg, Grand Gulf and Jackson without pastors. Trinity Church, Natchez, under the care of the Rev. D. C. Page, had 47 communicants, but the congregation was described as "large and influential," and a new church building was hopefully anticipated. St. Paul's Church, Woodville, the Rev. John F. Fish, rector, numbered 25 communicants, the congregation was increasing in size and importance, and the church building had been lately improved. Christ Church, Jefferson, with 8 communicants, had until the recent arrival of the Rev. James A. Fox, been without a rector for five or six years. St. Paul's Church, Columbus, under the Rev. M. L. Forbes, had increased within a year from 6 to 36 communicants. Bishop Kemper had visited it in April, 1838, and confirmed 15. The prospects of this church were described as "flattering, notwithstanding the pecuniary embarrassments under which it now labors." The population was estimated at 600,000—a typical frontier exaggeration by one hundred per cent! In all there were six clergymen, of whom two were teachers: the Rev. Guy R. Pinching in Vicksburg and the Rev. Spencer Wall in Woodville. The Board of Missions reported to General Convention the need of 12 or 15 missionaries in Mississippi.

The diocese of *Alabama*, organized 1830, described the condition of the Church as "slowly but progressively improving" since the General Convention of 1835.⁹ The number of clergy resident had more than doubled, from 4 to 10, of whom 7 were in charge of parishes. The Rev. Caleb S. Ives, chaplain and professor of Ancient Languages in Mobile Institute, was to leave in December, 1838, for Texas.

Seven new congregations had been organized and admitted into union with the diocesan convention, one was organized and not yet admitted, four new churches had been erected, two had been consecrated, and two were in course of erection.

The population was increasing rapidly (309,527 in 1830; 590,756 in 1840), and was almost twice as large as any other section of Polk's jurisdiction. It was mostly composed of families from the older states, many of whom were educated in the Church and "ardently desire the

⁸Gen. Con. Journal, 1838, p. 62. For the state of the Church in Mississippi three years previous (1835), see, "Historical Magazine," IV., 158.

⁹Gen. Conv. Journal, 1838, pp. 64-65. For the state of the Church in Alabama in 1835, see "Historical Magazine," IV., 159.

services of the Church." The Church's growth was seriously retarded by the dearth of "suitable clergymen in sufficient number to meet the demand." The need of a diocesan bishop was keenly felt and since 1836 an episcopal endowment fund had been established, initiated by the gift of 640 acres of land by Jacob Lorillard of New York City (one of the Church's illustrious benefactors), to which between \$4,000 and \$5,000 had been added by subscription. Alabama was to wait another six years before having a diocesan bishop.

The recent visitation of Bishop Kemper had been a great stimulus. A diocesan missionary society had just been organized with the expectation of engaging one or two missionaries to travel throughout the diocese and thus take advantage of the ripest opportunities. The parochial clergy were industrious and extending their ministrations outside their immediate cures as far as possible.

During the three year period, 1835-1838, there had been 176 baptisms (adults, 12; infants, 164); 42 marriages; 119 funerals; 63 confirmations. As of 1838 the diocese reported 202 communicants, 36 Sunday school teachers, 305 Sunday school pupils.

The Board of Missions estimated that 20 missionaries were needed in Alabama.

The diocese of *Louisiana*, recently organized (1838), reported three organized parishes and two clergymen.¹⁰ Christ Church, New Orleans, organized in 1805 with Philander Chase as its first rector, had been for several years without a resident rector, but was now flourishing under the care of the Rev. N. S. Wheaton, with about 150 communicants. St. Paul's, New Orleans, was vacant, and the Rev. Roderick H. Ranney had recently become rector of Grace Church, St. Francisville. The Board of Missions reported the need of eight or ten missionaries, although the state had never been explored as to its spiritual needs and opportunities.

By vote of the diocesan convention, early in 1839, Bishop Polk was invited to give it episcopal oversight.

Arkansas had recently become a state of the union (1836), but up to 1838 no services of the Episcopal Church were known to have been performed by any of our clergy.¹¹

The Board of Missions, however, had received information that Churchmen, brought up at the Church's altars in other states, were there. At Little Rock and other places a very strong desire on the part of many of the leading citizens for the Church's regular ministrations had been expressed. By December, 1838, the Domestic Com-

¹⁰*Gen. Conv. Journal, 1838, p. 67.*

¹¹*Spirit of Missions, III., 399.*

mittee of the Board of Missions had determined, if possible, to sustain five able missionaries in Arkansas for the three succeeding years.

The Republic of *Texas*, in so far as missionary grants were concerned, was under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions. Sometime in the early fall of 1838 the Board of Missions received a letter,¹² dated July 6, 1838, from the Rev. Richard Salmon,¹³ then in Texas. So far as is known Salmon was the first clergyman of the American Church to minister in Texas. He was chaplain to the senate of the first congress of the Republic of Texas. He deserves remembrance, first because he made the venture without any backing from the Church at home, and second because his letter is a graphic description of the difficulties endured by the earliest settlers in that immense territory.

In his letter he stated that he "arrived in New Orleans about the middle of April, 1836, with the families who accompanied me, part of whom were my own parishioners at Syracuse and Geddes, New York, with the design, as it was well known, of settling together in Texas, and forming a community at first by ourselves, myself being the clergyman." But the disturbed state of Texas for nearly a year following the battle of San Jacinto (April 21, 1836), necessitated their remaining in New Orleans for that additional space of time. When they did enter Texas, presumably in 1837, disease and drowning carried off eleven individuals, and the remaining fourteen families in Texas were all in an unsettled state, "and in circumstances of greater or less affliction."

"As a missionary I have indeed done but little, on account of the continued sickness of myself and family. I settled in this place, (the county town of Brazoria, and the richest county in Texas,) with my family in August last (1837), since which, both myself and family have been sick; so much so, as to unfit us for all business more than seven-eighths of the whole time. Besides acting as chaplain to the Senate of the first Congress, I have performed several marriages, and attended a great many burials. Moreover, I have three several times actually commenced my duties in a select school; and in May last I began to preach regularly here to large congregations, and continued for three Sundays; but in every instance I have been prevented from prosecuting my enterprise by the sickness of either myself or family. And now I am on the point of commencing a similar work nearer the coast, where it is much more healthy than at this place. God only knows what the

¹²*Spirit of Missions*, III., 330-331.

¹³Salmon was ordered deacon, Sept. 21, 1823, by Bishop Hobart. He was a missionary in central New York for several years. After his unhappy Texas adventure, he returned to New York City and died there July 7, 1849.

result may be. In fact, such has been the will of our heavenly Father, we have, during our sojourn here, 'suffered the loss of all things,' and have barely escaped with our lives thus far.

"The fields here are now ripe for the harvest, and if the present opportunity be neglected, infinite will be the loss—let the Church act, and act promptly. I do not ask the Church to appoint me, notwithstanding my suffering, my labors, and my losses for the Church's sake, and although in no instance have I departed from the purity and integrity of my profession. But, oh! send us missionaries here."

A letter from a layman¹⁴ in Houston, Texas, dated July 8, 1838, stressed the need for immediate action by the Church. Several Presbyterian and Methodist preachers, an occasional Baptist and one Roman Catholic had been there, but not once had the correspondent heard the Church's service read since leaving New Orleans in February, 1837. In his opinion missionaries of the right sort were immediately needed in Houston, Galveston, Matagorda, Nacogdoches, San Antonia, Velasco and Washington. Steamboat navigation on the Trinity river would soon warrant the opening of stations at Anahuac and Liberty. A good schoolmaster was immediately needed in Houston.

At the moment the Foreign Committee was unable to secure clergy who would devote themselves *exclusively* to missionary work. But they did appoint as missionaries two priests who were intending to establish schools: the Rev. Caleb S. Ives¹⁵ of Mobile on September 25, 1838, and the Rev. Robert M. Chapman¹⁶ of the Eastern diocese on October 16, 1838. The latter arrived in Houston in November, and Ives in Matagorda in December, 1838.

Such then was the state of the Church and the background of the jurisdiction to which Dr. Polk was called as the first missionary bishop of the Southwest.

¹⁴*Spirit of Missions*, III., 328-330.

¹⁵*Spirit of Missions*, III., p. 326. For an excellent biography of Ives, see DuBose Murphy's essay, "Historical Magazine," VI., 240-248. Ives was born Sept. 25, 1798 in Vermont; ordered deacon by Bp. Brownell, July 7, 1833; priested, August 2, 1833. Died, after ten years' work in Texas, July 27, 1849, in Vermont.

¹⁶*Spirit of Missions*, III., p. 346. Chapman had been ordered deacon by Bishop Griswold, July 1, 1838. He left Texas in the summer of 1839 for reasons unknown. After serving in Connecticut and as rector of Trinity Church, Lenox, Mass., he returned to the West—Kentucky and Indiana—and served many years as teacher and principal in Vincennes University, Indiana.

FIRST MISSIONARY TOUR¹⁷

Because of its unique character, Bishop Polk's first missionary tour is worthy of detailed treatment and it will be well for the reader to provide himself with an atlas containing maps of the states of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas. Officially, Bishop Brownell of Connecticut had episcopal oversight of Alabama, but he had delegated Bishop Otey of Tennessee to oversee the Church there, and Bishop Otey in turn requested Bishop Polk to visit that state. As it turned out, the latter retained it under his supervision until 1844.

Following his consecration, Bishop Polk returned home (Columbia, Maury County, Tennessee), put his affairs in order, and on February 14, 1839, left by stage for Florence, in the northwest corner of Alabama on the Tennessee river. Arriving the next day, he spent Friday and Saturday visiting families there and at Tuscumbia, six miles distant. The ministrations of the Rev. William Augustus Harris he found to be acceptable. The church building in Florence not being completed, services on Sunday the 17th were held in the "Methodist meeting-house," with a large and attentive congregation. The bishop preached on the divinity of Christ and Harris reported that "the impression he made was quite favorable." Polk felt that the prospects for the Church were encouraging.

On Monday, February 18th, Polk left for north Mississippi by way of Tennessee. Two days' travel by stage "over exceedingly rough roads," brought him to Bolivar, Hardiman county, Tennessee. The church here was under the care of the venerable Dr. Daniel Stephens. The bishop preached at the service on Tuesday night and the next morning journeyed southwest to La Grange, Fayette county, where the Rev. Samuel G. Litton was located, possessed of an "affectionate and confiding flock." Here Polk spent two days recruiting his strength, but preached to crowded congregations at night.

On Friday the 22nd he set off with Litton in a private conveyance for Salem, Benton county, Mississippi, but they lost their way among the many new roads and finally, instead of reaching Salem, arrived on Saturday night at Holly Springs, Marshall county. On Sunday morning Litton read service and Polk preached; in the afternoon Litton preached. In spite of bad weather they had large and attentive congregations. They found several warm friends of the Church and more were moving in. Holly Springs was then a mushroom town;

¹⁷The principal sources for this tour are: *Spirit of Missions*, IV., pp. 139-142, 198-200, 306-314, 333-335; *General Convention Journal*, 1841, pp. 157-162.

in 1836 it had been a cotton farm in a high and healthy country; by 1839 the inhabitants were numbered by thousands. It was a fine field for the Church and the Rev. Colley A. Foster was just taking up residence. The bishop remained in Holly Springs until February 26th, unable to visit outside of the town because of the lack of conveyance, but he ascertained that church people were living in Pontotoc county and at Hernando in De Soto county. Two men from the newly established town of Commerce on the Mississippi river guaranteed \$500 if an Episcopal minister would be established there. They estimated that their town had 1,000 inhabitants and claimed that it would be the commercial point for northern Mississippi and the rival of Memphis. Today it is not to be found on the map!

Between February 24th and March 1st Polk visited Randolph for an appointment, reached the river and sailed down it to Helena, Arkansas, which he reached at 3 o'clock in the morning of March 2nd. This was the largest Arkansas town on the Mississippi river with about 500 inhabitants, surrounded by a fertile country not thickly settled. It was destitute of religious privileges, but a few Church families were to be found, it was a field of missionary enterprise, and Polk recommended it as a missionary station. On Sunday the 3rd he preached twice in a private home, the court house not being heated. One churchman with his wife and many children had been deprived of the Church's ministrations for years and great was their joy.

In those days the longest way around was often the shortest way there. To reach the interior of Arkansas Polk boarded a boat on March 4th down the Mississippi river to the mouth of the Arkansas, and the next morning took another boat up the latter river bound for Little Rock. Touching at Arkansas Post, the bishop found several Church families, but the population was chiefly French, that place being one of the oldest French settlements in the west. It was originally called "Ozark" and was founded as early as Philadelphia. At Pine Bluff, 40 miles above Arkansas Post, he found Church families also, and recommended to the Domestic Committee that a missionary be appointed for these two towns, which one man could handle in view of the steamboat connection. The missionary, however, should know French.

Arriving at Little Rock on March 7th, the bishop remained there until the 12th, saw most of the families of the Church, held services and preached frequently—which usually meant every day. He found twenty to twenty-five Church families with as "strong Church attachment and as devout piety as I have met with at any time." They had come from most of the states of the Union and, as a whole, formed a

"highly intelligent body." The estimated population was 2,500 and was increasing. The location was healthy. The people were ready to pledge a salary of \$1,000 for a missionary.

Polk had expected to visit Batesville and Fayetteville in western Arkansas and Forts Gibson and Smith, the former being in what is now Oklahoma, near Muskogee. This he found to be unnecessary, as he was reliably informed that Batesville and Fayetteville were "respectable interior villages" of three or four hundred inhabitants, situated in fertile districts, not thickly populated. They were visited occasionally by a Methodist or Presbyterian minister and the appointment of a missionary for both stations was recommended. Troops were soon to be concentrated at Fort Smith. If so, a missionary would be needed there.

On March 12th the bishop left Little Rock on the mail coach for the southwestern part of Arkansas. It was a three day journey across rich lands with high, undulating ranges like those of the Carolinas. On the evening of his arrival in Washington, Hempstead county, he preached to a small congregation in the court house and also on the day following (the 15th). No one present was acquainted with the Prayer Book services. There were two other villages in the same county, Spring Hill and Columbus, in which were Church families, chiefly from Virginia and the Carolinas. A missionary was needed in that county. On Sunday the 17th, Polk officiated and preached twice in Spring Hill to large congregations, using the full services of the Church. He reported that he knew of "no more interesting station in the Southwest."

On Monday, the 18th, the bishop crossed the Red River, passed over into the disputed territory between Texas and the United States, visited planters, and then embarked by boat for Shreveport, Louisiana, about 250 miles below Polk's starting point. Accommodations for passengers were lacking, but a fur trader, formerly master of a vessel sailing out of Nantucket, loaned him a bear rug to sleep on. Every day the trader took an observation of the sun and then read his Bible. The bishop was naturally curious and the fur trader told him that his wife was a devout Episcopalian, that he had agreed with her that they should read their Bibles daily at the same hour, and that to be sure that he was reading at the same hour as his wife, he took an observation of the sun.¹⁸

The bishop was five days reaching Shreveport. The boat struck a snag in the night and sank. Polk helped the fur trader save his peltries; but the steamer seemed hopeless and the captain was about to abandon it, when the bishop suggested a plan for raising it. Adopt-

¹⁸Wm. M. Polk, "Leonidas Polk," Vol. I., p. 159.

ing it, the boat was raised, but it needed considerable repair. Another boat coming along, the bishop and the fur trader boarded it and continued on their way.

After visiting Shreveport, Natchitoches, and Alexandria in Louisiana,¹⁹ Bishop Polk spent the month of April in Mississippi where, in contrast to his more recent visitations, the Church had some settled clergy. From Natchez, where he arrived on April 6th, he proceeded up the Mississippi river to Vicksburg, confirmed 12 candidates and preached on "the duty of confessing Christ." Thence to Raymond, Jackson, and Clinton, returning to Vicksburg on the 19th to lay the cornerstone of the church building. Following visits to Natchez, Jefferson City, and Washington, he consecrated St. Mary's Church, Laurel Hill, which the bishop called a "most beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture," built at the sole expense of Dr. W. Newton Mercer on his estate for himself and his neighbors, and for the religious instruction of his slaves. Dr. Mercer expected to build a rectory also and to endow it. Services in Woodville on April 30th, May 1st and 2nd, and the confirmation of six persons, closed his visitation of the diocese of Mississippi.

The next week, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Page of Natchez, he spent in Louisiana at St. Francisville and New Orleans.²⁰

On May 10th, still accompanied by Page, Bishop Polk sailed for Texas. After forty-eight hours they reached Galveston on Sunday in time for the afternoon service being conducted by the Rev. Mr. Ranney of Louisiana. Another service was announced for that night, at which Polk preached to a large congregation. He spent the next day interviewing friends of the Church, found that a congregation was being organized, and funds being raised to build a church. The bishop himself selected a lot in a good part of the town. Galveston was the port of entry for most of Texas at that time, had 2,000 inhabitants, and was still growing. A resident missionary was needed at the earliest possible moment.

Page having elected to accompany the bishop on his Texas visitation, the two arrived in Houston on May 14th. This town was then the capital of the republic of Texas, with a population of about 2,000. Polk had an uncanny ability for sizing up the future possibilities of a town in those early days. He prophesied that in spite of the expected removal of the government to Austin, Houston would always be a center of importance, perhaps second. It is now first in size in the state of Texas. He reported that the Church had an organized con-

¹⁹For events connected with his visitation of Louisiana, see Dr. Slack's article, "Diocesan Episcopate in Louisiana," in this issue.

²⁰See below, "Diocesan Episcopate in Louisiana."

gregation and that \$4,000 to \$5,000 had been subscribed for the erection of a church, more was expected, and soon the building would commence. The Presbyterians were the only other religious group to have an organized congregation. He agreed with the suggestion of the Foreign Committee that a standing committee within the republic, to be the ecclesiastical authority of the Church, should be appointed until a bishop could take up residence. "A bishop, however, is wanted here, and he should be sent as soon as the competent authorities can convene. His influence would be immense, and no substitute can adequately take his place." This sage advice was not acted upon, to the Church's great detriment.

Equipping themselves with horses, the two missionary explorers pushed into the interior and after two days on the prairies, arrived at the house of the Rev. John W. Cloud, formerly of Connecticut and Mississippi. With him they spent part of Sunday, the 19th, and the bishop baptized Cloud's child. They reached Columbia on the Brassos river in time for service that night in a warehouse. The next day they moved down the river to Brazoria and Velasco on the gulf, passing through fertile lands destined to have a large population. On the 22nd they rode up the west side of the Brassos to McNeil's Prairie where they found a Church family, the mother having been confirmed by Bishop White some years before. The next two days were spent in travelling through wild and desolate country between the Brassos and Colorado rivers and reached Matagorda at the mouth of the latter. They found Ives had gone north to raise funds for the Church. Cordially welcomed by Ives' flock, they held two services on Sunday, May 26th, and set out the next day up the Colorado river, intending, after reaching Austin, to push east to the United States line. The heat was so great that they were threatened with sunstroke and the bishop was extremely sick. Return to Matagorda was imperative and because of the heat they travelled at night instead of by day. They took boat from Matagorda on the 30th and reached New Orleans on June 10th.

Polk reported to the Foreign Committee that Texas, as a scene of missionary operations, was not different from the Southwest generally. "The population is composed of very much the same material, having the same pursuits and sympathies, though somewhat dispersed." He foretold its rapid growth and the Church there needed a missionary bishop and at least six presbyters and deacons without delay. Lots should be acquired in the principal towns and he had acquired some; land was needed for a college and theological seminary, and it could be purchased cheaply then. "The experience of the last twenty years witnesses strongly to the economy and wisdom of such an expenditure."

Galveston, Houston and Matagorda were prepared for the services of missionaries and would be able to support them in a few years without aid. A missionary was needed for Bastrop and Austin, the new capital; another at Nacogdoches and San Augustin in eastern Texas; a third at Sabine town and Fort Jessup on the river Sabine; three more for the several growing towns on the Brassos, one of the most fertile districts of the republic, especially Velasco and Quintana; Brazoria and Columbia; Washington and Nashville. For a few years \$2,000 to \$5,000 would be needed, but self-support was eventually assured. "I know of no foreign field in which the same amount could be better applied."

From New Orleans Bishop Polk took a boat to Memphis, thence to Florence, Alabama, where he officiated and preached on Sunday, June 23rd, and then to his home in Columbia, Tennessee.

Bishop Polk's first missionary tour occupied nearly five months. He had travelled over 5,000 miles, preached 44 sermons, officiated at 14 baptisms and 41 confirmations, laid the cornerstone of one church and consecrated another. "The field is large, the harvest white, the laborers few." Outside of Texas there was not one minister of the Episcopal Church west of the Mississippi river and compared with the population, few in Mississippi and Alabama. The population was made up from almost all states of the union. While the field was not easy and he frankly bade those who would labor there to count the cost, yet he earnestly hoped "that we may speedily under God's blessing have men who shall be willing to come forth and supply 'this lack of service'."

SECOND VISITATION²¹

Bishop Polk spent September, October and November of 1839 in the East, reporting in person to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society and preaching in various churches on the Atlantic seaboard. On January 29th, 1840, he set out on his second visitation, taking three months to make very thorough tours of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

In Alabama he found ten clergymen in active service and in most of his visitations to parishes and missionary stations he was generally accompanied by one or more of them. The bishop found many reasons for encouragement. In almost every place he had both baptisms and confirmations, and of the latter some rather good sized classes of from 10 to 25. Several of the clergy were ministering to the slaves within their cures. The need of church buildings in some places was still

²¹*General Convention Journal, 1841, pp. 162-169.*

acute, five or six stations were still vacant, the local support of the missionaries sometimes precarious, but there were self-supporting parishes at St. Peter's in the Prairies, Lowndes county, in Montgomery and Mobile. He reported:

"In surveying the field of labor embraced by this diocese, I find in its condition much cause for gratitude to God on the part of the Missionary Board. Its effects have been felt, first or last, over the whole field, and it has contributed, more or less, to the founding and permanent establishment of every congregation in the diocese. These congregations will, ere long, be able to take care of themselves, and to evince their gratitude for the aid of the board, by contributing of their substance for the relief of the necessities of suffering brethren, dwelling in regions more distant."

Completing his visitation of Alabama in Mobile, he sailed to New Orleans and spent the period from March 27th to April 12th in Louisiana.²²

After spending one day in Woodville, Mississippi, the bishop travelled to St. Mary's on Second Creek where he met Bishop Otey, with whom he proceeded to Natchez. There, on Easter Day, April 19th, Polk consecrated Trinity Church, confirmed 13 persons, and Otey preached. Leaving Bishop Otey to take care of the other ministrations in the neighborhood, Polk pushed on to Canton, Madison county, a fertile and wealthy country with a large slave population and where a missionary was immediately needed. Thence to Preston, Holly Springs, Salem and home, ending his second visitation on May 5th.

On this second tour Bishop Polk had baptized 6 children and 8 adults; confirmed 116 persons; consecrated 2 churches; and ordained one deacon to the priesthood.

THIRD VISITATION²³

During the summer and early fall of 1840, Bishop Polk ministered in and about his home in Tennessee, serving the colored congregation which had been for some years under his care, ordained William H. C. Yeager, deacon, to the priesthood and sent him off to Little Rock, Arkansas, and consecrated St. Mark's Church, Williamsport, Tennessee.

On November 30, 1840, the bishop left home on his third missionary journey, headed for Arkansas and the Indian territory.

Ten days, December 15th to 25th, were spent in Little Rock where

²²See below, "Diocesan Episcopate."

²³General Convention Journal 1841, pp. 169-172.

Yeager had organized "a very interesting congregation," and was endeavoring to erect a church building. Three lots costing \$800 each were procured, the owners giving one, the bishop another, and the congregation paying for the third. \$2,000 had been subscribed towards a church building.

Two other clergymen in addition to Yeager had taken up the work in Arkansas since the bishop's first visit when there was none at all. The Rev. William Mitchell had been struggling amidst many discouragements at Pine Bluff. He had gathered a small congregation but the location was then very unhealthy for himself and family. The bishop allowed him to move to Hempstead county.

On January 5th, 1841, Polk journeyed to Fayetteville on the border of the Indian country which he had been unable to visit on his first Arkansas tour. Here the Rev. William Scull was at work and presented eight persons for confirmation. The bishop considered this station a promising field; it was, for a new country, thickly populated with a class of people naturally attracted to the Church. He found, also, a girls' school for educating Cherokee Indian girls. The head of the school for over fifteen years, a woman missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, told the bishop that the Book of Common Prayer was best suited for the religious training of Indians.

The bishop's first attempt to reach Fort Gibson was frustrated by extremely cold weather—12 degrees below zero. He used the delay for interviews with the Cherokee chiefs about the possibilities of the Church ministering among them. They were cordial and promised their cooperation. Polk was especially impressed with John Ross, a chief of the Cherokees and a man of intelligence, who promised his influence in the education and Christianization of his people if the Church should elect to minister among them.

During the latter part of January the bishop was finally able to reach both Fort Gibson and Fort Smith, staying several days in the former. The officers at both forts were anxious to have as chaplains priests of the Church. The village of Van Buren, near Fort Smith, was the distributing point for the Indian territory and a missionary was needed there.

Travelling southwest to the Red River valley, Polk passed through the Choctaw nation to Dockville, the principal Indian village near Fort Towson, now in Choctaw county, Oklahoma. Holding services and preaching there the last days of January, the bishop found that the prominent Protestant denominations were maintaining missionary establishments among the Indians, but, he reported, "I saw no reason

why our Church might not employ her energies in that field with as fair promise of success as any other."

During February he visited again the scenes of his first visitation in the Red River country, both in the republic of Texas and the state of Arkansas. Here was no resident clergyman of the Church and Polk stated that "the Indian tribes are better provided than the whites who surround them, either in Texas or the United States."

"There is no fairer field for missionary operations in the republic (of Texas) than is presented by what is termed the Red River districts. It is settled by as wealthy planters as are found in any part of the states, and I was informed by persons competent to decide, that the institutions of the Church would be exceedingly well received."

One incident, in particular, strikingly confirmed him in this opinion. Some years before, two girls, students in the Episcopal Female Institute of Columbia, Tennessee, became attached to the Church. On the family's subsequent removal to Texas, they took their Prayer Books with them. Their father, an officer in the Texas War of Independence, had been indifferent to religion. This was one of many families who had been overjoyed to see the bishop on his first visitation in 1839. At that time Polk urged the father to use the Prayer Book and read service every Lord's Day. This the father had done and now, on his second visitation to them, the bishop found the father converted and ready for baptism together with his wife and five children.

"For such circumstances we are led to two reflections: first, the eminent value of our liturgical services; secondly, the usefulness of our Church institutions for the education of the young in Christian principles."

Passing through that portion of Louisiana visited first in 1839, the bishop reached New Orleans, from which point he had expected to sail for Matagorda, Texas, and consecrate the church there. A letter from Ives informed him that the church was not yet ready. The bishop thereupon changed his plans, sailed to Mobile, Alabama, consecrated Christ Church in that city and confirmed seventeen persons on the second Sunday in Lent. Returning to New Orleans and Louisiana, he spent the rest of March and part of April. On May 1st, 1841, he was home again.

On this, his third visitation, Bishop Polk baptized 43 children and adults; confirmed 42 persons; ordained 2 deacons to the priesthood; celebrated 3 marriages; and consecrated 2 churches. The larger

number of baptisms and the fewer confirmations of this visitation, compared with the second, were due to the much smaller number of clergy laboring in the territory covered by the last missionary tour.

SUMMARY OF POLK'S MISSIONARY EPISCOPATE

During the less than three years of his missionary episcopate, besides the uncounted scores of services conducted and sermons preached, Polk had the following summary of his official acts to report to General Convention: baptisms, 71; confirmations, 199; ordinations: deacons, 1; priests, 3; marriages, 3; churches consecrated, 5. His own comment on this report is instructive:

"The vast extent of the field, the dispersed condition of the population, and the absence of facilities for communication with the different parts of it, have made the labor very great, and the apparent results far less than I could have desired. I have felt that I was engaged in the work of a pioneer, and that the seeds I was sowing, cast in as I trust in faith, would, under the watering of my successors, and the blessing of God, spring up in due time and bring forth fruits unto eternal life."

At the request of the diocese of Louisiana, the House of Bishops nominated and the House of Deputies elected Dr. Polk as bishop of Louisiana, according to the canon in force at the time of the General Convention of 1841.²⁴ Bishop Polk then resigned as missionary bishop, accepting his election as diocesan of Louisiana, and the missionary territory of Arkansas and the Indian Territory was assigned to Bishop Otey of Tennessee, who also took over Mississippi while Bishop Polk continued overseeing Alabama and Texas.

LAST VISIT TO TEXAS

The laity of the Church in Galveston and Matagorda, Texas, not only memorialized the General Convention of 1841 to elect a bishop for Texas, but those of Galveston asked that Eaton be elected and those of Matagorda made the same request for Ives. These actions spoke well for the regard in which both priests were held by their respective communities, but the House of Bishops, after some difficulty in making a selection, nominated the Rev. Nicholas H. Cobbs of Virginia. The House of Deputies, however, refused to concur, but not out of dissatisfaction with Mr. Cobbs:

²⁴*General Convention Journal, 1841, pp. 71, 113.*

"Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, it is not expedient to elect a Bishop to perform Episcopal functions in any place out of the territory of the United States, until the authority, rights, duties and responsibility of such Bishop, *and of those ordained by him*, shall have been declared and established, and a mode provided, by Canon or otherwise, of rendering them amenable to the laws of this Church."²⁵

It being too late in the session for these conditions to be worked out immediately, all action was deferred for three years. But the House of Bishops endeavored to soften the disappointment of churchmen in Texas by the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Bishops of this House hereby express to the churches in Texas, their kindest feeling and good wishes for their welfare; and also request the Presiding Bishop to arrange with such Bishops as may find it convenient to visit those churches, and other places where it may be desirable, at least once in every year, until the next meeting of the General Convention."

During February, 1844, in accordance with this resolution and at the request of Dr. Griswold, the presiding bishop, Bishop Polk visited the three established missions in Texas: Galveston, Houston and Matagorda. Leaving Galveston until the last, Polk proceeded to Houston where he spent four busy days. In addition to services every night he baptized one adult and confirmed thirteen, of whom twelve were heads of families and, according to Gillett, the missionary, "eight were fresh from the ranks of Satan."

Polk and Gillett were four days making Matagorda. The weather was very bad; they were "sometimes swimming their horses, at others riding with the water half-way up their saddle skirts." The three days following their arrival, February 23rd, were happy days for the Church in Matagorda. The church was consecrated, the first such service in the republic. Twenty persons were confirmed; Ives had baptized most of them and seven had been scholars in his school, which Ives looked upon "as of incalculable importance to the Church."

"The Bishop, by his urbane and Christian deportment, and by his appropriate discourses, commanded the respect and approbation of all—even of those indifferent to the Gospel."²⁶

In Galveston, where he remained from March 1st to 7th, the bishop baptized 5 adults and 6 infants, confirmed 20 persons, and con-

²⁵For the whole subject, see *General Convention Journal*, 1841, pp. 74-77, 113-114, 125-126, 135, 152-155.

²⁶For this visit to Texas see "Spirit of Missions," IX., pp. 155-157, 193-195, 268-270, 279-281, the last being Polk's own report.

secrated the church. The Church had made fine progress under Eaton's ministrations.

In fact, as the bishop reported, all three places "gave gratifying proofs of the zeal and devotion of those brethren in the ministry to whom the work of the several missions has been entrusted." He was impressed with the Church's beneficial influence on social conditions, and the improvements in law and order. In his report to the Foreign Committee, Polk made three pointed recommendations:

(1) Missionaries should be stationed at San Augustine and Nacogdoches in East Texas; Independence and Columbia, and Brazoria, in Central Texas; Bastrop and Austin, and Gonzales, and San Antonio, in the West.

"It has been too often the fortune of the Church to make her appearance as a teacher of the faith, in the western parts of our country, after the public mind has been preoccupied by the dogmas of other religionists. And none knows so well the trials of her ministry, or the peculiarly painful character of their labors, in undoing so much as has been wrongly done, on the part of their predecessors, as those who have been actually employed in her service in the West."

Texas was an opportunity for the Church to enter a new field along with the very first.

(2) The immediate presence of a resident bishop in Texas was needed "to bring the power of the Church to bear upon the moral well-being of that people effectively."

"This is a question which has ceased to be open; it is now a practical maxim, and it is of the highest importance that the Church should act upon it with as little delay as possible."

(3) The establishment of schools was another point of great importance to the success of the Church in her evangelizing work. The proof of it was Ives' school at Matagorda. Polk was of the opinion that Galveston and Houston should have such schools and that they should be attached to every station.

Finally, it gave him pleasure to report that at a meeting in Galveston, with all three missionaries present, it was unanimously resolved to apply to the House of Bishops to supply the Church in Texas with "such episcopal supervision as is enjoyed by unorganized districts in the United States."

This prayer was answered by the General Convention of 1844 in the election of Dr. George Washington Freeman as missionary bishop of Arkansas and Indian Territory with provisional charge of Texas.

And thus ended, in a formal sense, the "missionary episcopate" of Leonidas Polk.

BISHOP POLK AND THE DIOCESE OF LOUISIANA

*By William Samuel Slack, D. D.**

PRIOR to the sale of that vast territory known as the Louisiana Purchase by France to the United States in 1803 the practice of none but the Roman Catholic religion was permitted within its bounds. In that sale, however, at the express insistence of Napoleon, then First Consul, religious freedom was guaranteed to all. Despite their having been prohibited entrance into that territory when owned by France and Spain, a small infiltration of non-Roman Christians was present; following the sale the number very perceptibly increased.

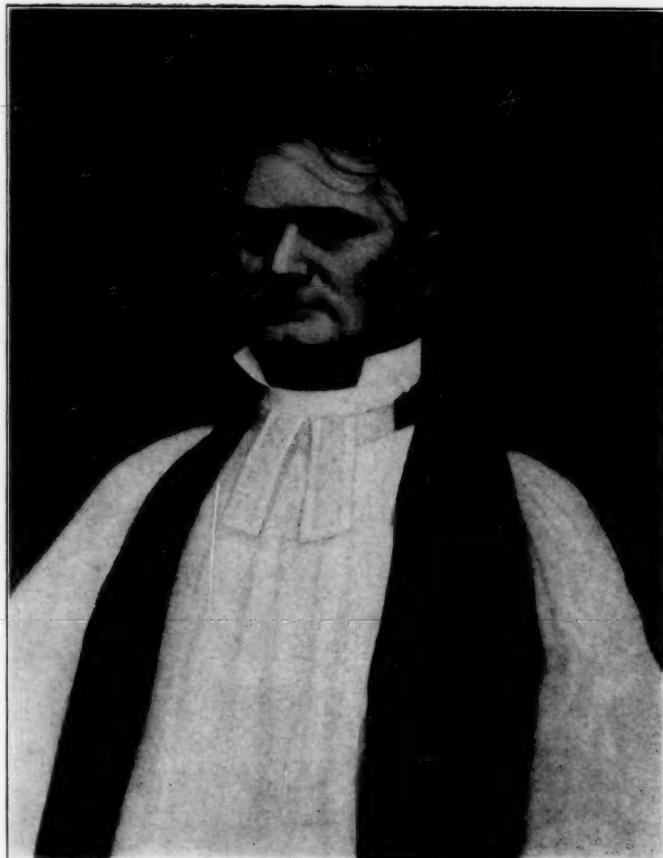
In the minutes of Christ Church, New Orleans, it appears that "on the 2d of June, 1805, a number of gentlemen assembled for the purpose of obtaining as speedily as possible a Protestant Clergyman to come and reside in New Orleans to preach the Gospel". A second meeting was held on the 9th. and a general meeting on the 15th of the same month, "to determine the Religious Denomination of the Clergyman to be invited:" at this meeting of the 53 votes cast, 45 were for an Episcopal Clergyman, 7 for a Presbyterian and 1 for a Methodist. The name of the church to be organized was to be "Christ Church".

"A Committee of Correspondence" was appointed to try and secure a clergyman to serve this congregation. Several Bishops were written to, and, at the suggestion of the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore, of New York, the Rev. Philander Chase, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., came to New Orleans and entered upon his duties in November, the first service being held in the Cabildo on Nov. 15th, 1805. He served until March, 1811, when he removed to Connecticut. There was a vacancy in the rectorship of Christ Church for three years.

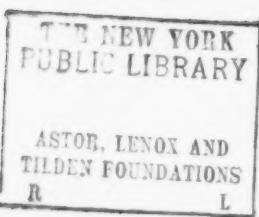
The first Protestant Church to be incorporated by the Territorial Government of Louisiana was Christ Church, its first title being, "The Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church, in the County of Orleans", and its date July 3, 1805. The title was on May 2d, 1806, changed to "The Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church, in the County of Orleans in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America", which charter is still in force.

Until 1826, when occasional services were held in or near St. Francisville, La., Christ Church was the only Episcopal Church in

**Recorder of Ordinations of General Convention since 1921. Rector of St. James' Church, Alexandria, Louisiana, 1917-1938. Author of "The Slack Family," 1930. Ed. Note.*



LEONIDAS POLK
Bishop of Louisiana
[1861]



the State of Louisiana. In 1829 this congregation was organized under the name of Grace Church. St. Paul's Church, New Orleans, was organized in 1837.

Some years elapsed before a diocese was organized. In 1830 Bishop Thomas Church Brownell, of Connecticut, presided over a convention held at New Orleans. It was composed of the Reverend Messrs. Hull, Bowman and Fox, with lay delegates present from New Orleans and St. Francisville. No application, however, was made for admission into union with the General Convention. In 1832 the General Convention enacted a canon permitting the dioceses of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana to unite in the election of a bishop. Acting under this canon a convention was held at New Orleans on March 4th and 5th, 1835. Mississippi and Alabama were represented, but Louisiana sent but one lay delegate. At that meeting the Reverend Francis Lister Hawks was elected bishop of "the South-Western diocese". He declined the election and the project was abandoned.

Prior to that convention Louisiana had organized a diocese on January 20, 1835, and applied to be received by the General Convention. That body declined to accede on the ground of "divided counsels".

At the General Convention of 1835 two Missionary Districts were created—the North-West and the South-West. The record runs:

"The House of Bishops inform the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies that they hereby nominate the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D. D., as a Bishop of this Church, to exercise episcopal functions in the State of Louisiana and in the Territories of Arkansas and Florida."¹

After due consideration Dr. Hawks felt impelled to decline his election.

At a convention held at New Orleans April 28, 1838, attended by the Reverends Doctor Wheaton and R. H. Ranney, together with Messrs. Richard Relf, Lucius Campbell Duncan, Thomas Butler, William D. Boyle and William F. Brand, the diocese was formally organized and admitted into union at the General Convention on September 7th of that year. The Reverend Dr. Wheaton was the clerical deputy and Joseph Lovell represented the lay order.

The First Convention of the new Diocese met in Christ Church, New Orleans, January 16, 1839. On motion of Mr. Lucius Duncan it was unanimously resolved, "That the Diocese of Louisiana be and hereby is placed under the full Episcopal charge and authority of the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, D. D., Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, agree-

¹*Journal of General Convention, 1835, p. 111.*

ably to the provision of the 3rd Canon of the General Convention; and that he be respectfully requested to accept the same". This Convention lasted one day. Two clergymen and four laymen were present.

The Second Convention of the Diocese was held on January 15, 1840, in Christ Church, New Orleans, its first rector, then Bishop of Illinois, Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D., presiding. Rev. N. S. Wheaton, President of the Standing Committee, reported that, in obedience to the direction of the last Convention, he had written to Bishop Polk, and was in receipt of the following reply:

"Columbia, Tenn. February 14, 1839.
To the Rev. N. S. Wheaton, President of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Louisiana.

Rev. and dear Sir:

Your favor of the 16th. January, covering certain resolutions of the Convention of the Diocese of Louisiana, placing that Diocese under my 'full charge and authority, according to the provisions of the 3rd Canon of the General Convention of 1838, and requesting my acceptance of the same' is received.

For the kind manner in which the Committee has chosen to discharge the duty imposed on it by the Convention, you will please accept my cordial thanks, with assurances that I accede to the wishes of the Convention with much pleasure and that I will contribute whatever services I can, consistently with other engagements, to the furtherance of the interests of our beloved Church in your Diocese.

With sentiments of great respect,

Affectionately, your friend and brother
Leonidas Polk."

The Bishop was as good as his word. We find him wending his way on a steamboat down the Red River from his visitation of places in the disputed territory between the United States and Texas. The boat struck a snag; the captain, in despair, thought of abandoning it, but the Bishop using his West Point training showed him how to save it. As he was anxious to continue his journey and another boat descending the river coming by, after assuring himself that all was well he took passage on that boat and arrived in Shreveport, La., on Friday, March 22, 1839. No religious service of any sort had ever been held in that wild and primitive settlement, and a rowdy and boisterous element living along the river front boasted that none should be held. The Bishop was informed of the threats, and attempting to secure a place for holding the service found great difficulty in so doing, bond had to be given for the safety of the building. With the aid of a fellow traveller whom he had befriended, the place was cleaned up, a table spread with a clean

cloth and a Bible placed thereon, and a hand bell rung. The rowdies began to gather and were preparing to make good their threat, when the boat which the Bishop had saved arrived. The captain thereof being informed of the danger threatening his friend, armed his crew with marlinspikes and bludgeons and started post-haste for the scene of promised trouble, vowing as he went, "If that preacher wants to hold service, he is going to do it, or we'll know the reason why. He's a man, and we'll stand by him". That settled it, the ruffians were afraid to attempt anything and slunk away, so the first service was held in Shreveport, which Bishop Polk prophesied would become the second largest city in Louisiana, as it is today. It was two years before he was able to revisit Shreveport. He reports to the Convention that in the interval, "not a solitary sermon had been preached in the village by a minister of any denomination".

It was truly a wild and untamed country into which this dauntless Bishop had come. He reports to the Conventions the many hardships encountered. Of riding in springless open wagons for weary miles over trails, not roads, of swimming swollen streams and sleeping on unginned cotton, and he was far from being the robust man we ordinarily associate with such experiences.

Bishop Polk was a man of commanding appearance; his soldierly and courtly manner made him noted wherever he went. The following has often been told of him. In the dining room of the old Washington Hotel, Vicksburg, Miss., one morning as he sat at the table, the head waiter, an elderly Negro with the manners of a Chesterfield, went to where the Bishop was sitting, and bowing low, said to him, "Good morning, General, what can I serve you?" "You are wrong there," said the Bishop, "I'm not a General." Not at all abashed, the wily Senegambian bowed again, as he said, "Good morning, Judge, what will you have?" "Wrong again," said the Bishop, "I'm not a Judge." Making another effort, and with a profound bow, the waiter said, "Good morning, Bishop, what may I serve you?" "Right this time. Why did you address me as you did?" "Cause, sah!" said the astute Negro, "I knowed you was at de head of de profession whateber it was."

Thus did Bishop Polk impress all who came in contact with him, from the lowest to the highest. Added to this soldierly bearing he was easy to approach, had a marvelous memory for names and faces, and the ability to make and keep friends. It was the strength of his personality and his real interest in everyone that made and preserves the name of Leonidas Polk as one ever to be remembered in the annals of the Diocese of Louisiana.

On his first visit to Louisiana Bishop Polk slowly journeyed down the Red River from Shreveport, arriving at Natchitoches on March

27th, 1839. There he found a small number of members of the Church, and held services on Good Friday and Easter. He reached Alexandria on April 4th. He reports, "the friends of the Church were few, but desirous of the services of a minister". He had intended to go overland to south Louisiana by way of Opelousas, through what was known as the Attakapas Country, as he had been told that in that vicinity were many people from North Carolina and the east who were formerly associated with the Church, but owing to the difficulties of travel, through boundless forests or trackless swamps with no roads save wagon trails, he had to abandon the project until later, and continued his journey down the Red and Mississippi Rivers in the leisurely fashion of the day. It was not until May 3d that he reached St. Francisville, where was Grace Church. Without stopping anywhere along the Mississippi River he made a quick trip to New Orleans, and on Rogation Sunday, May 5th, he held his first service here in Christ Church.

The Bishop's episcopal journeys were continuous throughout his vast jurisdiction, which included Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and a portion of Texas. Sometimes a visit would take him from home for six months at a time.

At a special meeting held in Christ Church, New Orleans, May 20, 1841, called by the Standing Committee for the purpose of electing a Bishop, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"To the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church
in the United States of America.

Whereas, the Diocese of Louisiana, with its numerous and rapidly increasing population, presents an inviting field for the establishment of new parishes in connexion with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and

Whereas the slow progress it has hitherto made may, in a great measure, be attributed to the want of an Episcopal Overseer who could give his undivided attention to the spiritual concerns of the Diocese; and,

Whereas, while the Convention bears grateful testimony to the piety, fidelity, and arduous labors of the Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, of which the Church of Louisiana has enjoyed the benefit since it was placed under his charge, and reposes unabated confidence in his zeal in its behalf, and readiness to do all in his power to promote its interest, consistently with his duty to the Church in other portions of the wide region which now owns his spiritual jurisdiction, it cannot be insensible to the fact, that the self-devotion of no one man can be adequate to meet the spiritual wants of a population so large, and so destitute of the ordinances of Christianity; therefore,

Resolved, That the General Convention be, and hereby are,

requested to elect a Bishop over the Diocese of Louisiana, agreeably to the provisions of Canon 1, section 1 of the General Convention of 1838.

Resolved, That the Delegates to the next General Convention be, and hereby are instructed to present the aforesaid preamble and resolutions to that body, at its session in the City of New York, on the first Wednesday in October, 1841."

The action of the General Convention is thus recorded:

"House of Bishops, New York, October 16th, 1841.
On motion of Bishop Brownell, seconded by Bishop Otey,

Resolved, That the House do now proceed to nominate a Bishop for Louisiana. The House accordingly proceeded to ballot, when it appeared that the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, D. D., was unanimously elected, to be nominated to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

On the same day, at the evening session, the following message was received:

The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies informs the House of Bishops that they have concurred in the nomination, made by the House of Bishops, of the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, D. D., to be the Bishop of Louisiana.

Thereupon Bishop Polk, in person resigned the office of Missionary Bishop; and it was upon motion,

Resolved, That the resignation of Bishop Polk be accepted.

Bishop Polk then declared his acceptance of the office of Bishop of Louisiana.

A true copy.
(Attest).

Jona. M. Wainwright,
Secretary of the House of Bishops."

Bishop Polk presided at the fourth convention of the diocese, which met at New Orleans on January 20, 1842. There were then four clergymen and two hundred and twenty-two communicants. In his address the Bishop emphasized (1) The need of unity in the body; (2) By adherence to the guide marks of the Church, her creeds, homilies and services, referring all to the "most certain warrant of holy Scriptures"; (3) The making use of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; (4) And the absolute necessity of producing a native ministry. This necessity he never failed to refer to in every address, insisting that the "peculiar institution" of the South required men born under that system to realize their responsibility to care for and uplift the slaves, the white man's burden, wished upon them by other generations, in their efforts to enrich themselves from the products of the lands they owned.

Bishop Polk early realized that he must bring his family from their home near Columbia, Tenn., where a beautiful church had been erected nearby in a grove of trees in which slaves and masters worshipped regularly. Upon the death of his wife's mother, Mrs. Devereux, choice had to be made between taking slaves or money as his wife's portion of her inheritance. Both had very strong feelings about the Southern white man's responsibility to God for the Christianization and humanization of the Negroes, so they chose the slaves, and, when they moved to Louisiana, they brought the four hundred or more Negro slaves with them and settled down to live the life of a sugar planter on a large plantation near Thibodaux, which they named "Leighton". Bishop Polk makes many mentionings of his having held services for his slaves, and it is a well known fact that in addition to his own ministrations to them he at times paid out of his own funds the salary of one to minister to them.

Speaking of the needs of the Negro slaves, in his address to the Convention of 1843, he stresses the need of "Clergy from among ourselves, either from those who have come to make their homes among us, or from natives of the soil", especially as concerning the slaves, "There is a subject, my brethren, which most intimately concerns us as Christians and Christian ministers, in our peculiar field of labor; I mean provision for the religious instruction of the colored race. . . . Their claim to our attention and Christian offices here, is greatly strengthened by their peculiar condition of dependence. . . . In order, however, to ensure any great degree of success in this enterprise, we must have the countenance and hearty cooperation of our brethren of the laity. It is for them to open the door of access to this field. It is under the protection of their influence, that this work must be done. And upon this point, as far as my acquaintance goes, it gives me great pleasure to state, that I have in no instance found them backward, or indifferent to the furtherance of this object. It being distinctly understood and seen that our purpose is to teach all orders and degrees of men, in the language of our formularies, 'to do their duty in that state of life into which it has pleased God to call them'; that we are not political crusaders, but simple guileless teachers of that Gospel which was preached by our Saviour and His Apostles, in a region whose social condition was altogether similar to our own, that as they did not condescend, in the execution of their high errand, to dogmatize on the civil relations or rights of individuals, but rather to bind the consciences and the affections to the faithful discharge of the duties of those relations; and by the inculcation of right principles, to leave those relations themselves to be regulated by the intelligent consciences of the parties; so we, who have 'part of the same ministry and apostle-

ship', are chiefly concerned with the hearts and consciences of those to whom we go. This being perceived, I say no difficulty need be apprehended in obtaining access to all minds. In this connexion, too, may I be permitted to express the hope that the day is not distant when the Church, by wise and temperate legislation, will open the way for our obtaining the services of a class of men suited to the instruction of this description of persons; and when she may, with less jealousy for her intellectual reputation, and more concern for the salvation of the perishing multitudes around her, adopt measures by which she may challenge for herself, with some propriety, the character of preaching the Gospel to the poor."

The years passed rapidly by. Bishop Polk journeyed from end to end of his Diocese establishing parish after parish, particularly in the southern part of Louisiana, which was known as "The Sugar Belt". A few planters would center around a common spot, a church, frequently of handsome Gothic design and of enduring brick, would be built, a clergyman secured for a nominal salary, a rectory built, and, if he was qualified and would teach, great was the rejoicing, as the era of public schools was decades removed, and it was the ambitious desire of the Bishop to have a parochial school alongside of each parish established. This formation of tiny parishes, and giving to them the same representation in the Conventions or Councils (as later they have been called) of the Diocese, as larger and more lasting parishes, has presented problems to later Bishops and Councils, and only in recent years solved, where possible, by granting full parochial status only to those congregations which, unaided by grouping together, or by aid of Mission funds, are by their own efforts able to give a living salary to their Minister.

Bishop Polk was not only a "States' Rights" advocate in civil matters, but also in ecclesiastical. He said, "We all feel that the power of appointing the Missionaries in our own Diocese, and directing and controlling their movements, belongs, under our system, of necessity and propriety, to the Bishops. The Missionaries ought then to be appointed by the Bishops of the respective Dioceses, to whom they should be directly responsible. Each Bishop, in the conduct of Missions in his own Diocese, it is presumed, would desire a Council of Advice, which, under the character of a Missionary Committee, should be charged, as the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Board now is, with the receiving from abroad, collecting and appropriating funds for the support of the Missionaries". He suggested that these Missionary Committees, with their secretaries and treasurers, "being charged with the duty of voting salaries to the Missionaries, would relieve the Bishops

from that unpleasant duty, on the one hand, and the Missionaries from a feeling of dependence on their Bishops on the other". He was an ardent advocate of sending Bishops to supervise the work at home and in foreign fields. As a business man he looked at the Church work in a business way; urging publicity that the work might be made known, and the rendering account of the monies received and expended in each Bishop's work. He said, "When the Church sends her funds abroad for the spread of the Gospel, she has the right to know how they have been applied, and what amount of good her benefactions are accomplishing. . . . It is legitimate, therefore, that she should require of the Bishops, whether Foreign or Domestic, in whose jurisdiction expenditures are made, periodical reports of the associations under their charge. . . . These would be published, of course, through *The Spirit of Missions*, and would place the Church in possession of the desired information. . . . Nor need these reports be considered as superseding communications from the Missionaries themselves, who might be as free as at present to state the condition of their respective fields of labor, furnish such intelligence as might be deemed edifying, or make appeals for pecuniary aid, additional labor, or an interest in the prayers of God's faithful people". He concludes this address with the request that "a Diocesan Missionary Committee" be appointed, and the following were chosen: Rev. N. S. Wheaton, D. D., Rev. D. S. Lewis and Messrs. Thomas Sloo and Benjamin Lowndes.

In his conciliar address of 1844, Bishop Polk refers "to the past year" as "one of more or less agitation in the church and world at large, upon the subject of faith and order of the gospel", and he refers to his own views as set forth in his address to the first Convention of the Diocese, with which, in speaking of the clergy of the Diocese, he says, "I have great pleasure in knowing the clergy of the Diocese, as a body, unite most cordially. They steadfastly adhere to the truth and appointments of the Gospel, as set forth and embodied in our liturgy, articles and homilies. Their conviction is that our blessed Lord organized, ordained and commissioned a church, to which He entrusted the work of the conversion of sinners, and the confirmation of the faithful. To this church He has committed His written word, to be faithfully dispensed by it, as that sure warrant of Holy Scripture, so containing all things necessary for salvation, that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man to be believed as an article of faith, or to be thought requisite to salvation. . . . Our confidence is that Almighty God will still continue to vouchsafe the grace which has hitherto protected us, so that as a Diocese we may be found in the old paths of the Reformation and the early church. . . . May we have grace, my brethren, while we all seek to maintain the truth,

and are striving for the faith once delivered to the saints, to exhibit a spirit of kindness towards those with whom we differ, whether within our fold or without; so that it may be seen that our purpose is not so much the establishment of the dogmas of a sect or faction, as to settle and make permanent those great truths, indispensable to the perfection of the plan of common salvation".

At the next Diocesan Convention the Bishop calls attention to the passage by the last General Convention of a Canon suggested in his address of two years previous, by which it was made possible to ordain men to the Diaconate "with qualifications inferior to those demanded by our Canons hitherto"; explaining the need therefor in reaching the slave population, and "also for that large number of others in our cities and rural districts of moderate intelligence, and for whose instruction a very high degree of cultivation can in no wise be deemed necessary". He emphasizes our Lord's command to His Church to "go teach", as he so aptly put it, "The education of our children should be in our hands. Others may do it well. We ought not to allow that they can do it better. And we cannot—with safety to ourselves—in view of our spiritual engagements, to teach them all things, that as Christians, 'they ought to know and believe to their souls' health'—divest ourselves of this high duty. From the moment the Church receives them into her bosom, and consecrates them to the service of the Lord at his altar—through all the period of their intellectual and moral training—they should not cease to feel her maternal hand upon them, employed in giving shape and proportion to their intellectual and social beings".

"On turning to the history of the Diocese since 1841," the Bishop says in his address in 1854, "at which time I took charge of it as its first Bishop, it will be perceived there were at that time, four organized congregations: Trinity Church, Natchitoches; Grace Church, St. Francisville; St. Paul's and Christ Churches, New Orleans. Of these, the three last only, had church edifices. Our list of clergy, embracing parish ministers and teachers of youth, amounted to six. Communicants in all these parishes, to 238. The population of the Diocese amounted to about 500,000. We have, after the lapse of thirteen years, 32 organized parishes, in which have been built and consecrated or are now ready for consecration, 20 church edifices, and of the remaining 12, several are taking active measures to build. Besides these 32 organized congregations, composed chiefly of white persons, we have 23 others, in different parts of the Diocese, composed of the slaves on as many plantations; making in the average 55. For the construction of church edifices, there has been collected and expended, in the aggregate, about \$350,000. Our list of clergy, exclusive of the three taken off by the late

epidemic" (Yellow Fever), "has increased from 6 to 23. Our communicants from 238 to 1,421. . . . Our work is but fairly begun, new regions are opening before us and calling loudly for help. Our people are willing to provide for the support for the ministrations of religion among them. Our chief want is ministerial labor. Labor that counts not life dear unto it, that it may fill up the full measure of its calling in an un-shrinking self-denial and hearty devotion to the building up the Kingdom of God in the souls of men".

Yellow Fever having broken out with unprecedented virulence while the Bishop was in attendance at the General Convention in New York in 1853, he hurried back to "Leighton", his plantation home on Bayou La Fourche. This epidemic completed what the cholera of 1848-1849 and the tornado and hailstorm of 1850 had left unfinished. The cholera had taken 106 of the 400 slaves, the tornado and hailstorm occurring while the Diocesan Convention was in session in Thibodaux and the members at a reception at Leighton Plantation house, demolished the sugar house, destroyed the barns and levelled many of the Negro cabins, killing the stock, causing a loss of over \$100,000. The Bishop and Mrs. Polk struggled bravely on, but Yellow Fever returning in 1854, the Bishop narrowly escaped death, as friend after friend around him died; he surrendered the plantation to his creditors and moved to New Orleans with his family. About January 1st, 1856, he accepted the invitation of the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church to become their rector, and held that office until March 23rd, 1860; during a part of this time he had an assistant, the last being the Rev. John Fulton, whom he made Deacon on May 27th, 1858, and ordained to the Priesthood on May 31st, 1858. For thirteen years Bishop Polk had served with practically no salary, the Diocese, however, contributing somewhat towards his travelling expenses, the largest amount, \$1,475, being paid him in 1852. In 1853 the Diocese promised \$4,000 per annum, and engaged the Rev. Amos D. McCoy, a man of dynamic power and unflagging energy, to raise an endowment for the episcopate, hoping that the interest thereon would be sufficient to meet the expenses.

Realizing the lack of educational advantages in the South, the Bishop set to work to effect a change. In his address to the Convention of 1858 he made public to his own Diocese, under thirteen heads, the steps that had been taken to draw the Dioceses of the extreme South into a closer union by their having a common end and purpose in a great institution of learning, with feeders throughout the South, which should be forever under their joint control. Underlying it all is or was a recognition of "the peculiarities of our social condition . . . , the homogenous character of our population, the similarity of their pursuits, and the identity of their institutions". In every subsequent address

Bishop Polk dwells at length, and with no little rejoicing, that this dream of his life—the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee—was being so heartily welcomed by lovers of the South and its “peculiar institutions”. But since to another has been assigned the story of Bishop Polk’s connection with that institution, I refer to it only in passing, and sadly note that as the result of the clashing opinions of the peoples of this land and the fratricidal strife, which brought about the collapse of nearly all of his and his brother bishops’ plans for the University, and the death on the battlefield of this great Bishop, that institution—Sewanee—has had a mighty struggle to play its part worthily in the sight of God and of men.

Bishop Polk notes the formation of a “Free Church Congregation” in New Orleans, in his address in 1860, where many members of the Church who had drifted to New Orleans to repair their fortunes, but on account of scant resources were unable to pay the pew rent then almost universal, and were remaining away from her services. He calls attention to the need of a home for the orphans of the Church, as “we are entirely able to take charge of these little ones ourselves, and to afford them all the sympathy and support, the intellectual and religious training their destitution demands.” He hoped it would be statewide in scope.

The Church in Louisiana was at its peak; new parishes were being established, church and school buildings erected, the care of the slaves carried on; the number of clergy had increased from 6 to 32, of congregations in union with the Diocesan Council from 3 to 40; not in union from 1 to 6, which does not include the 30 or more congregations of slaves that were gathered together to have the Gospel preached to them when the shadows of the impending “War Between the States” grew darker and darker.

The seriousness of the situation appalled everyone; the President of the United States had set aside “a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer”. In furtherance of the President’s request, Bishop Polk wrote and sent out this prayer under date of December 29, 1860, to be used on that occasion, “and at such other times as may seem advisable during the existing emergency”.

PRAYER

“O Almighty God, Fountain of all wisdom, and the Helper of all who call upon Thee: We, Thy unworthy servants, under a deep sense of the difficulties and dangers by which we are now surrounded, turn our hearts to Thee in earnest supplication and prayer. We humble ourselves before Thee; we confess that as a nation and as individuals we have grievously offended

Thee; and that our sins have justly provoked Thy wrath and indignation against us. Deal not with us, O Lord, according to our iniquities, but according to Thy great and tender mercies, and forgive us all that is past. Turn Thine anger from us, and visit us not with those evils we most justly have deserved. Guide and direct us in all our consultations; save us from all ignorance, error, pride and prejudice; and, if it please Thee, compose and heal the divisions which disturb us. Or else, if in Thy good providence it be otherwise appointed, grant, we beseech Thee, that the spirit of wisdom and moderation may preside over our councils, that the just rights of all may be maintained and accorded, and the blessings of peace preserved to us and our children throughout all generations. All which we ask through the merits and meditation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen."

On January 26, 1861, the State of Louisiana passed the Ordinance of Secession, thereby severing her association with the United States of America; it having become "*un fait accompli*", Bishop Polk being in line with the great preponderance of the leaders of the South who believed in "States Rights"; that is to say—if a State had the right to form a union with others, when it seemed to her advantage, when it was to her disadvantage to remain in the same, she could withdraw; for, being a sovereign State, she had that right.

January 30, 1861, he writes a Pastoral Letter "To the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana", in which he says in part: "My beloved Brethren—The State of Louisiana having, by a formal ordinance, through her Delegates in Convention assembled, withdrawn herself from all connection with the United States of America, and constituted herself a separate Sovereignty, has, by that act, removed our Diocese from within the pale of 'The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States'. We have, therefore, an independent Diocesan existence. . . . Our separation from our brethren of 'The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States' has been effected, because we must follow our Nationality. Not because there has been any difference of opinion as to Catholic Doctrine or Catholic usage. Upon these points we are still one. With us it is a separation, not division, certainly not alienation. And there is no reason why, if we should find the union of our individual Dioceses under one National Church impracticable, we should cease to feel for each other the respect and regard with which purity of manners, high principles and a manly devotion to the truth never fail to inspire generous minds. Our relations to each other hereafter will be the relations we both hold now to the men of our Mother Church of England."

He orders the words, "The President of the United States," deleted

from the Prayer for those in Civil Authority, and "The Governor of this State", substituted; in the "Prayer for Congress" that the words, "The people of these United States in general, and especially for their Senate and Representatives in Congress assembled", be deleted, and there be substituted, "The people of this State in general, and especially for their legislature now in session". This was followed by a "Prayer to be used during the session of this State and during the session of the Convention to be composed of such other States as have withdrawn from the late Federal Union, and propose to join Louisiana in the formation of a separate Government".

Another Pastoral Letter was sent out February 20, 1861. In it Bishop Polk orders that the words, "The President of the United States" be deleted from the "Prayer for those in Civil Authority", and the words, "The President of the Confederate States", be substituted. And in the special prayer sent out on January 30th for the words, "and the Convention of the Southern States", substitute the words, "and the Congress of the Confederate States". "The prayer for the Legislature, as already indicated, will be continued during its sessions".

The question as to the disposition of "such funds as have been usually raised for Foreign and Domestic Missions" having arisen, Bishop Polk sends another Pastoral, which, for its breath of view at such a time, is indeed unique. Emphasizing again that separation from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is a "change in Church Union, not of Church Unity", he writes, "In the mean season, as our confidence, in its largest measure in the Christian integrity, zeal and judiciousness of our brethren who have charge of the Foreign and Domestic Missions of the Church is undiminished, I recommend that such funds as may have been, or may hereafter be, collected for those objects, be sent forward as heretofore. Such changes as may be expedient will be made, as events progress, and as expediency may dictate".

The Committee on the State of the Church, through its Chairman, Rev. John Fulton, presented a logical and cogent defense for the changed relationship in which the Diocese now found itself, and reported that the Diocese of Louisiana "is desirous of entering into Union with the remaining Dioceses of the Confederate States of America", and suggested that delegates be appointed by the Convention to "a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America to be held at Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, on the 3d of July next". Three clerical and three lay delegates, with as many alternates in each order, were chosen; the Bishop was given authority to fill all vacancies. The Convention adjourned to meet on the first Wednesday in May, 1862, in Christ Church, New Orleans.

No record can be found of the Diocese of Louisiana having formally gone into union with the other dioceses of the Southern States with which it was planned to form the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America.

An attempt was made to hold a convention at Christ Church, New Orleans, on May 7, 1862. This is the record—"The secretary (Rev. John Fulton) reported to the chair that six parishes only were represented, whereupon a representation from fourteen parishes being required by the Constitution of the Diocese to organize the Convention, the minutes were read and approved, and the meeting adjourned sine die".

The Twenty-fifth Convention was held in St. Paul's Church, May 16th-19th, 1866, inclusive, which evidences the fact that no meetings were held during the period of "The War Between the States". During the war, the Bishop of Louisiana was at the front, but, at his request, Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, D. D., of Tennessee, and Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay, D. D., of Arkansas, were to have made visitations in the Diocese. Bishop Otey was prevented from doing so by illness, but Bishop Lay was able to go to Shreveport, De Soto, Bastrop, Morehouse Parish, Alexandria, Cheneyville and Williamsport, but on account of the unsettled condition of the war-riven country was unable to go further. He reports that in each place he conveyed a message from Bishop Polk to his people to the effect, "That although considerations of duty had taken him away from them, his heart was always with them, that his highest ambition was to be permitted to resume his proper duties, and his most earnest desire to go in and out among them once more preaching the Kingdom of God; that he sent his love and his blessing", which "message, when delivered, elicited the response of tears and loving replies".

RESUME

	1841	1861	1841-1861
Ordinations—Deacons			16
Priests			19
Confirmed			3,317
Clergy	6	32	32
Congregations	4	80*	80*
Churches (buildings)	3		33

In 1841 Bishop Polk assumed charge as First Bishop of the Diocese of Louisiana. In 1861 "The War Between the States" broke out, and Bishop Polk was called to the front.

*This includes some twenty-five congregations of Negro slaves.

The Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of the Diocese of Louisiana was held in St. Paul's Church, New Orleans, May 16th-19th, 1866, inclusive. At this Convention the Diocese paid fitting and heartfelt tribute* to the heroic and sacrificial ministry of its first Bishop, took steps to liquidate the arrearages due on his salary, rescinded the action taken on the 1st May, 1861, by which it ceased to be a Diocese in connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and readopted the Constitution and Canons of the National Church, sending notice of such action to the Presiding Bishop of the Church. The distressed conditions of the Church in Louisiana at that time are set forth in the brief and heartrending Report of the Committee on the State of the Church:

"The Committee on the State of the Church have but little to report, and that little most distressing.

Our church edifices have almost all been injured, and some totally destroyed.

Our people have been so deeply impoverished that they can neither repair their edifices nor support their ministers.

But our clergy, faithful to their responsibilities, are found

**Resolutions passed at the Diocesan Convention of Louisiana, May 17, 1866.*

RESOLVED, That in the appointment by the General Convention in 1841, of the Rt. Leonidas Polk, D. D., then Missionary Bishop of the Southwest, to Episcopal Jurisdiction over the Diocese of Louisiana, we recognize, with gratitude to God, the elevation over us of one eminently qualified in mental endowments and Christian graces, to administer the office of a Bishop to the glory of God, and particularly adapted, by personal and social characteristics, to meet the peculiar wants of the Church in Louisiana.

RESOLVED, That this Convention entertain a deep sense of the value of the services rendered to this Diocese during the administration of Bishop Polk, and of his enlightened devotion to the spiritual interests of the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him Overseer. The Episcopal addresses, annually delivered before the Conventions, bear witness to the abundance of his labors; while the growth of the church, its general prosperity up to the date of the late unhappy war between the States, and the unbroken harmony which prevailed throughout the Diocese, indicate the prudence and energy of his government.

RESOLVED, That this Convention call to mind, with melancholy satisfaction, the many generous and noble traits of character which distinguished our late Father in God in all his official intercourse with the members of this Diocese, and appeared conspicuously in all his private and social relations to the clergy and laity of the church, who will long cherish the memory of their departed Bishop, as an affectionate father, a judicious counsellor and a sympathizing friend.

RESOLVED, That in the plan devised for the creation of "the University of the South", and in the measures adopted to secure the permanent endowment of that great enterprise for the religious and intellectual development of the country, we recognize that broad and comprehensive Christian philanthropy, and that enlightened devotion to the best interest of the Church in the South, which so eminently characterized our late Father in God, in whose mind the noble project had its birth, and by whose untiring energies, in connection with others, like minded, in Southern Dioceses, it had been well nigh brought to a successful achievement, when arrested by the unhappy convulsions of the country.

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions, with a letter by the President of this Convention, expressing the Christian sympathies of the church in Louisiana, be addressed to the afflicted family of our deceased Bishop.

at their posts, suffering with their people as willingly as they once rejoiced together; and ignoring the past, attentive to the present and anticipating the future, we all look to God, with chastened hearts, to build up the waste places of our Zion, and in due time to put to scorn the ignorance of foolish men who, in their hostility to the members of the church, have ruthlessly invaded the sanctuaries of God.

This, in a few words, is the melancholy history of the present state of the church in our midst.

W. T. Leacock,
Chairman of Committee."

The Rev. Joseph Pere Bell Wilmer, of the Diocese of Maryland, was elected second Bishop of Louisiana, accepted and was consecrated on November 7th, 1866. As if the conditions reported above were not enough, Bishop Wilmer faced unflinchingly the terrible period known as "Reconstruction Days", which pressed most heavily on South Carolina and Louisiana, yellow fever epidemics, floods, financial panics and other ills, yet when suddenly called to his reward on December 2, 1878, he had confirmed 4,777 persons, made 21 deacons, ordained 22 priests; the congregations, which had fallen from 80 in 1861 to 30 in 1866, had increased to 74, and church buildings from 26 to 48, while the number of communicants had almost trebled—being then 4,351.

The Rev. John Nicholas Galleher, then rector of Zion Church, New York city, a former colonel on General Simon B. Buckner's (C. S. A.) staff, and at one time rector of Trinity Church, New Orleans, was elected third Bishop of Louisiana, accepted and was consecrated in Trinity Church, on February 5th, 1880. During his episcopate of eleven years the Children's Home for orphan girls, which had been instituted some time before, was greatly improved, the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions was born and has since taken an increasing part in the life of the Diocese. His health failing it became necessary for him to have an assistant, and the Rev. Davis Sessums, then rector of Christ Church, was elected and consecrated on June 24th, 1891. At the death of Bishop Galleher on December 7th, 1891, he became fourth Bishop of Louisiana.

During Bishop Sessums episcopate of thirty-eight years vast improvements were made, many handsome churches and parish houses were built, and at the University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, what is perhaps one of the finest and most complete Student Centres, consisting of chapel, auditorium and living quarters for the student pastor, was erected at a cost of over \$50,000. The communicants increased from 4,898 to 12,694 and confirmed persons from 5,391 to 17,885. Bishop Sessums died suddenly on Christmas Eve, 1929.

At a special meeting of the Council, as the Diocesan meetings are now called, held May 14th, 1930, in St. James Church, Alexandria, the Rt. Rev. James Craik Morris, D. D., Missionary Bishop of the Panama Canal Zone, was elected fifth Bishop of Louisiana; he accepted, and assumed active charge of the Diocese in September of that year. His episcopate has been marked by a steady growth, the liquidation of parochial and diocesan obligations despite our passing through "The Great Depression", and more recently by the observation of the Centennial of the Diocese and the raising of a large sum, the interest of which will be used as each Council directs for diocesan objectives. The Diocese is reported as being "out of debt". The slogan of the Centennial Observance Committee was, "Strengthen the Church for a new Century", and it has nobly done its work.

Looking back over the past one hundred years and more of the Diocese, with its high aspirations and failures, its gains and its losses, the Church in Louisiana thankfully bears testimony to the unremitting toil and ceaseless endeavors of its five bishops, and, spurred by their example and the responsibility of bearing witness to that faith once delivered to the Apostles, girds itself for the work of the future, "looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God".

LEONIDAS POLK AND THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH

*By Moultrie Guerry**

I TURN to you, Reverend Sir, and say . . . that when it pleaseth God, your Master, to stay your radiant and strong right arm from His battlefields on earth, and call you to share His everlasting triumph, the heavens and your grateful country will read on your grave-stone, *The Founder of the University of the South.*"

This tribute to Bishop Leonidas Polk came at the close of the oration of the Hon. John S. Preston, of South Carolina, whose eloquence was heard at the laying of the corner-stone of the University on Sewanee Mountain, October 10, 1860. Without discredit to others whose work was of great importance, this relationship as founder to the early origins of the University can be fairly substantiated.

The beginnings of the idea of a great liberal university can be traced back to Polk's conversion at West Point in 1826 and his interest in the invitation to be a professor at the new Amherst College. When his father objected to this retreat from the ancestral military profession and Polk decided on the Ministry, his father insisted that he had better go traveling! No doubt his wanderings did not carry him off the path of education in this country, but certainly when he went abroad in 1833 he took special interest in the great universities of Europe and their influences upon the lives of the nations. The biographer of "*Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General*", who was his son, William M. Polk, M. D., LL. D., is emphatic about his father's interest in the institutions of Europe in connection with the need for such in the United States. In 1834, when he joined Bishop Otey, of the Diocese of Tennessee, Polk immediately became the right-hand partner in his projects in education. Polk was head of a female institute at Columbia and chairman of the Committee to found a Seminary of classical and theological learning which Otey had proposed in his convention in 1832. The projected "Madison College" did not reach fulfillment owing to the depression of 1837. When Polk was made Missionary Bishop of the Southwest in 1838, the immediate partnership of these men in the plans for an institution of higher learning for Tennessee and the neighboring territory came

**Chaplain of the University of the South since 1929. Author of "Men Who Made Sewanee," 1932. Ed. Note.*

to a temporary end. When the idea of a university was again projected, in 1856, it came directly and almost completely from the mind of Polk, then Bishop of Louisiana.

Of this new and vaster undertaking, we may read the following interesting comments which give credit directly to Leonidas Polk. Of the greatest interest, perhaps, is the address of Bishop Otey to his diocesan convention in 1857. After reviewing the great need of education and reminding his people how "Time and again attention has been earnestly called to this subject by your bishop from the beginning of his episcopate"; he went on to say: "A movement has been made outside of the diocese in which the Bishop of Louisiana, whom we all know and honor for his enlarged and enlightened vision, has taken the lead, which looks to the establishment and endowment of an institution on the most liberal scale." The Reverend David Green Haskins, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, while he was dean-elect of the proposed theological school at Sewanee, prepared, in 1877, a most interesting account of the University, illustrated with primitive pictures. He says on page twenty-six: "The University was first suggested, and the plan of it outlined in a pamphlet bearing date of July 1, 1856, addressed by the late Bishop of Louisiana to his brethren, etc." The Reverend Dr. David Pise, a trustee from Tennessee when the University was first organized, wrote in 1866, "What a trio, Otey, Polk, Elliott! They were the three grandest men I ever saw together. In the center of the group stands the originator of the most magnificent enterprise of the age; on either hand, his noble compeers in that grand scheme". The Reverend Dr. Telfair Hodgson, Vice-Chancellor, and actually the first dean of the theological school, wrote, "With that indefinable power of holding others to his objects, Bishop Polk was undoubtedly the man who originated the notion of a union of dioceses in the foundation of the University of the South. . . . It is likewise true that to Bishop Polk's personal influence and genius for organization is due the merit of successfully inaugurating the movement. His appeal to the planters of Louisiana and the other Southern dioceses for indorsement in the premises and for funds was, in its promptness and consummation, like a brilliant military movement. As it were, in one campaign the success of the University of the South was assured."

With these last words we establish most characteristically Bishop Polk's relationship to the University: certainly its leader in the founding and its "General" in the campaign for its accomplishment. He was not a "builder of a tower who sitteth not down first and counteth the cost whether he have sufficient to finish it". He was not a "king who sitteth not down first and consulteth" before he move his armies into battle (St. Luke XIV:28-31).

Evidently the Bishop, in spite of the manifold duties of caring for a New Orleans parish and building a diocese, had thought carefully about the project. He seems to have thought of every contingency, and amazed and persuaded everyone by his answers to all their doubts and questions. The Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins, of Vermont, writes with the highest praises to his two friends in the South, Polk and Elliott, saying: "The Lord has raised you up for this noblest work in your day and generation." Writing to Mrs. Polk, February 14, 1867, Presiding Bishop Hopkins describes his visit to the grounds of the university where he was invited in 1859 to exercise his art in landscaping, and says of Polk, "He brought with him to Sewanee at that time a large box entirely filled with the result of correspondence with the leading men in Europe, and the scholastic institutions of the Old World, as well as laborious and thoroughly digested projects for a southern university which, when completed, was to be the noblest and best-endowed in Christendom. . . . I was amazed and delighted at the combination of original genius, lofty enterprise, and Christian hope with the utmost degree of practical wisdom, cautious investigation, exquisite tact, and indefatigable energy, which far surpass all that I could conceive in the bounds of human efficiency".

Let us go back now and follow in sequence the steps taken by the founders of the University.

The movement actually started with Bishop Polk's letter of July 1, 1856, to his fellow bishops in the southern dioceses south of Kentucky and Virginia. What that lengthy letter said, supported by other correspondence, is summarized in "Men Who Have Made Sewanee" as follows:

"Space does not permit a full account of how Bishop Polk planned and carried through the actual organization of the University in 1856-7:—how, after his experience in Europe in 1833 and his work with Bishop Otey, the idea grew and took shape in his mind; how in 1852 he began collecting material from the educational systems of England, France, and Prussia, scheming to found 'an Oxford, a Gottingen, or a Bonn, or all three combined . . . neither in spirit of servile copyists nor yet with . . . superiority to the lessons of experience'; how he favored from the first a healthful domain apart and central to the South on the Cumberland Mountains; how he outlined a University Society on a grand scale, with groups of colleges, with sessions in the pleasanter months of the year where students and people might have refuge from malaria, attracting lecturers from this country and abroad, and visitors who desired to take advantage of the centre of culture; with a press and literary magazine; with sacred music; with homes of cultivated people rather than barracks for students to dwell in; how he expected the University to radiate civilizing influences that

would affect every class in the South, and not least of all the subject races, through an enlightened people who must prepare the Negroes for the freedom they seemed as yet unable to use; and how it was to be a church capital transcending all narrow and mere diocesan tendencies. He wrote at length to Bishop Elliott in this vein and said:

“There is no reason why . . . we might not in five years have a Church University which would rival Harvard and Yale. A movement of some kind is indispensable to rally and unite us, to develop our resources and demonstrate our power.”

The letter was not only comprehensive and compelling, but well-timed. An earlier date would not have found the southern dioceses duly organized with episcopal leadership and ready to join in a great province-wide enterprise. The educational efforts of Otey, whose college had not come to completion, and of Elliott, whose Woman's College at Montpelier in Georgia had failed for lack of support, and other struggling attempts in divided localities made timely the statement: “What we may not do singly, we may with ease do collectively.” Furthermore, Polk's letter in July gave plenty of opportunity for each bishop to think deeply about the proposal before the date of the General Convention the following fall, where Bishop Polk asked them to assemble and decide what could be done about this plan.

On October 23, 1856, in Philadelphia, the bishops of the southern dioceses having met and enthusiastically endorsed the united endeavor, sent forth a letter: “To Members and Friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Southern and Southwestern states.” The letter was signed by J. H. Otey of Tennessee, Leonidas Polk of Louisiana, Stephen Elliott of Georgia, N. H. Cobbs of Alabama, George W. Freeman of Arkansas, Missionary District of the Southwest, W. M. Green of Mississippi, F. H. Rutledge of Florida, Thomas F. Davis of South Carolina, and Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina. This letter, much in the vein of its predecessor by Bishop Polk, summoned each diocese to send its trustees, consisting of the bishop, one clergyman and two laymen to organize at a meeting during the following summer. The first article in the proposal was, “That the University should in all its parts be under the sole and perpetual direction of the Protestant Episcopal Church as represented by the dioceses united in its foundation”. The letter from these bishops at General Convention reveals high enthusiasm:—

“We have, thus, dear brethren, presented and developed a measure which we regard as the most important, in view of all its relations, ever presented to the American Church. For

ourselves, we are deeply persuaded, that it far transcends in the promise of its usefulness, any merely local or diocesan enterprise, it would be possible for our diocese to get up separately; and that its combinations are of a character to insure always to our children and our children's children, to many generations, the largest and most varied amount of talent for their intellectual culture, as well as the soundest moral and religious influence, it is in our power to provide for them. To do this, is to make the best investment for our posterity, and to lay upon the altar of our country, the most appropriate offering that could be tendered by the citizen or the Christian."

The first meeting to organize a Board of Trustees was held on Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga, Tennessee, July 4, 1857. With the exception of Bishop Freeman all of the bishops who signed the call to the southern dioceses were present, with the following clerical and lay delegates,—the Reverend M. Ashly Curtiss, D. D., North Carolina, the Reverend Alexander Gregg of South Carolina, the Reverend Henry C. Lay, Messrs. C. T. Pollard, and L. H. Anderson of Alabama, the Reverend W. W. Lord of Mississippi, the Reverend W. T. Leacock, D. D., and Mr. George S. Guion of Louisiana, the Reverend J. W. Dunn of Texas, and the Reverend Davis Pise, D. D., and Messrs. Francis P. Fogg and John Armfield of Tennessee. That the State of Tennessee appreciated the movement is shown by words in the Act to establish the University on the part of the General Assembly of Tennessee in 1858, wherein was written, "And, whereas, the security of society, the supremacy of the law, the preservation of liberty regulated by law, the perpetuity of our institutions, of the intelligence of the people and sound moral sense among them, etc." The view that the projected university would greatly serve such purposes seems to have been shared universally by people of other churches and in all walks of life and was looked upon with both patriotic and religious devotion.

We cannot include here a detailed description of the exercises at the organizing of the Board of Trustees or of its succeeding meetings in Montgomery, Alabama, November 25, 1857, in Beersheba, Tennessee, July 4, 1858, and again August 19, 1859, in New Orleans, February 8, 1860, and finally October 10, 1860, at "University Place", Sewanee, Tennessee; but through these meetings under the presiding of Bishop Otey as their Chancellor, Leonidas Polk, was given the greatest amount of responsibility as chairman of committees on location, constitution and code of statutes, and endowment.

(1) LOCATION. From the beginning Bishop Polk had proposed the location of the University upon the plateau mountains of lower Tennessee, which seemed to be convenient to a united southern enterprise; because of the construction of railroads which had a natural

center near Chattanooga. The spot was healthful, cool enough in summer with its elevations and not desperately cold in winter. With his usual fairness and judgment, however, he employed Mr. Walter Gwynn, an engineer and a cultivated gentleman, with others, to go over all the sites offered for the location of the University. He prepared a questionnaire which would give the trustees thoroughly scientific and detailed data. Facts were, therefore, prepared regarding sites at Huntsville, Alabama, Chattanooga, Sewanee, McMinnville, and Cleveland, Tennessee, and at Atlanta, Georgia. After careful consideration and much voting, the site at Sewanee was chosen as the ideal one. The Sewanee Coal Mining Company had built a branch railroad up the mountain from Cowan on the main line of the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad. This company offered five thousand acres, and citizens of Franklin County offered five thousand more of adjacent land, giving the proposed University a magnificent domain on the level top of a mountain nearly a thousand feet above the valleys and nearly two thousand feet above the sea. Here was a primeval land, rich in wood, stone, water and other resources remote from any overwhelming local influences, where the University might build its own society and yet be in fact a university not of one state or place, but of the whole South.

(2) CONSTITUTION AND CODE OF STATUTES. Not content with his own investigations, Bishop Polk with his committee drew further upon the help of the President of the United States and our ambassadors to secure the best sources of educational information. The committee did not imitate any one university, but took from the best features of many for an "eclectic" result. The following list from the original constitution shows how inclusive was to be the scope of education:—

"The following shall be the schools founded by the University, so soon as the means at its command shall be sufficient for that purpose.

1. School of Greek Language and Literature.
2. School of Latin Language and Literature.
3. School of Mathematics.
4. School of Physics.
5. School of Metaphysics.
6. School of History and Archaeology.
7. School of Natural Sciences, with cabinets and garden of plants attached.
8. School of Geology, Mineralogy, and Paleontology.
9. School of Civil Engineering, Construction, Architecture, and Drawing.
10. School of Theoretical and Experimental Chemistry.

11. School of Chemistry applied to Agriculture and the Arts.
12. School of Theory and Practice of Agriculture, with farm attached.
13. School of Moral Science and the Evidences of the Christian Religion.
14. School of English Language and Literature.
15. School of French Language and Literature.
16. School of German Language and Literature.
17. School of Spanish Language and Literature.
18. School of Italian Language and Literature.
19. School of Oriental Language and Literature.
20. School of the Philosophy of Languages.
21. School of the Philosophy of Education.
22. School of Rhetoric, Criticism, Elocution, and Composition.
23. School of American History and Antiquities.
24. School of Ethnology and Universal Geography.
25. School of Astronomy (with observatory) and Physical Geography.
26. School of Political Science, Political Economy, Statistics, Law of Nations, Spirit of Laws, General Principles of the Government and Constitution of the United States.
27. School of Commerce and Trade, including the History and Laws of Banking, Exchange, Insurance, Brokerage, and Bookkeeping.
28. School of Theology.
29. School of Law.
30. School of Medicine.
31. School of Mines and Mining.
32. School of Fine Arts, including Sacred Music."

(3) ENDOWMENT. It is one thing to dream dreams and another thing to pay for them. Bishop Polk and Elliott as Commissioners of Endowment were charged with the task of raising \$500,000 as a preliminary to *any* active operations. They report at the Beersheba meeting in 1859 as follows:

"The collections have been confined almost entirely to Louisiana in consequence of having begun our work at New Orleans. The two or three months we found it possible to give to this duty were fully occupied in the field upon which we entered nor did we by any means exhaust that." Therefore, they secured with little effort cash and pledges guaranteeing the necessary \$500,000 and gave them a basis whereby they estimated that in a brief period of canvass through ten dioceses, they could count on an initial endowment of over \$3,000,000.

So confident were the principal leaders in the enterprise, that

Bishops Polk, Elliott, and Otey, and other trustees built homes on the domain before the corner-stone of the University was laid. Great work sheds were constructed and all was in readiness to begin the erection on the university site of the main building, which was to cost \$300,000.

Widespread was the interest in the University, and there gathered for the occasion of its final inauguration eight bishops, two hundred presbyters, and some five thousand people, not only from the local counties, but from all parts of the South, and indeed, of the country. Bishop Smith of Kentucky was present, foreshadowing the entrance of that diocese into the project. President Barnard of the University of Mississippi, afterwards of Columbia University, Lt. Commander Mathew Fontaine Maury of Gulf Stream fame, as well as Col. John S. Preston and other distinguished people took part in the program. The occasion, as described by the Reverend J. F. Young, D. D., later Bishop of Florida, for the *Church Journal* printed October 24, and by correspondents from the *Church Intelligencer* and secular papers, was of incomparable dignity and moment. The procession consisted of Horn's Silver Band, citizens of Franklin and counties adjacent, invited guests, architects, ministers of the Gospel, presidents of colleges, and professors, the ladies, the trustees, the orator of the day, other speakers, and bishops in order of their seniority.

The great marble corner-stone had been hauled up the mountain by teams of oxen. In it was deposited, by Bishop Elliott, the Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, the Constitution of the United States, Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the proceedings of the last General Convention, and Journals of the Confederate Dioceses, documents written in relation to this university, church publications, and a pocket almanac listing the bishops and clergymen of England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Continent.

At the height of the ceremony, it was properly given to the Bishop of Louisiana to perform the rite of laying the corner-stone in place. He said, "A corner-stone is that which unites the walls of a building, and may symbolize strength and stability,—the union of the intellectual and spiritual nature of man—the emblem of Christ—the sure and tried corner-stone—the wisdom of God, and the Power of God!"

Then striking the stone three times with a hammer, he said:

"In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity! Father! Son! and Holy Ghost! Three Persons—one God, blessed forever. Amen.

"I, Leonidas Polk, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana, on this tenth day of October, and in the year of Grace, 1860, do lay this corner-stone of an edifice to be here erected as the principal build-

ing of the 'University of the South', an Institution established by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Dioceses of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, for the cultivation of true religion, learning and virtue, that thereby God may be glorified, and the happiness of man be advanced.

"Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ; the same yesterday, today, and forever: God over all, blessed forever, in whom we have redemption through His Blood, even the forgiveness of sins; for there is none other name under heaven among men whereby we must be saved.'"

The choir then chanted the "Benedicte", with instrumental accompaniment, after which the audience moved in procession to the oration hall.

It falls to another to tell how the War came with its disastrous effects upon that which Polk had so well founded, how his home was burned at Sewanee by incendiaries, how Lee and Davis, the Army and the people, persuaded him to accept the commission of Major General, how his feet took him over the beloved site, leaving it behind to the enemy to destroy, how he died at Marietta, Georgia, in 1864, fulfilling all too literally the prophecy of John S. Preston. But after the War it was in great part the memory of his deathless vision that touched with new life the ashes on the mountain. The inward and spiritual remains of his enterprise still made southern men think so grandly of Sewanee, that, though there was no endowment left and little money to be had, they gladly gave their love and gifts of mind and soul in maintenance of a small and struggling outward and visible sign—"an ensign on a hill". Such bishops as Quintard and Gailor of Tennessee, and others, from Gregg of Texas to Capers and Guerry of South Carolina, and such officers and professors as the veteran Generals Josiah Gorgas and Kirby-Smith, and Shoup, such as John B. Elliott, McCrady, Caskie Harrison, Wiggins, and Trent, and greatest of all, Reverend Dr. W. P. DuBose, chaplain of the University and progenitor and dean of the Theological School, a theologian, a prophet, and saint, and others of their company, men and women, strove as men inspired with the thought that Sewanee was fulfilling or surely would fulfill all the greatness of her foundations.

With regimentation abroad in the world, with our Church reserving to herself only four such colleges of which Sewanee is alone owned and controlled directly by the Church through its elected trustees (in twenty-two dioceses reaching from Missouri to Florida) there is a new impetus for Christian education which only a united effort of a far-seeing Church can give. Hardly would the bishops and trustees of eighty years ago need to rewrite today their concern for democratic institutions if we build not a better foundation of intelligent and religious integrity.

Bishop Polk, as it would be discovered in a study of his episcopate, was deeply aware of the great social and political problems of his time, not least of all, the slavery problem and the union of states. He saw clearly that a great university was needed to vindicate the South "from the obloquy of ignorance and barbarism". People need to rise above the heat of economic pressures, social habits, and the arbitrament of war to find a solution for such questions as slavery and the tension between sections of the country, between differences of party and of class. Most of these concerns are still with us, in but new forms, calling for solution; and where could such freedom of expression, such idealism in faith and virtue, be better found and broadcasted than at a great central station of free-born culture representing the united efforts of the Church? Are these words of Bishop Polk and his colleagues written from Philadelphia, appropriate only to the year 1856 or to our own?

"Nothing is more common than to hear it affirmed that the hopes of mankind are suspended upon the success of the experiment in government now being made in these states. The success or failure of this experiment turns entirely on the degree of intelligence, and the character of the moral sentiment which shall distinguish the masses of our population. These masses are but the aggregation of individuals, and the responsibility and duty originating and sustaining Institutions whose offices go to the point, directly or indirectly, of enlightening them, is therefore obvious and imperative. . . . At no time in all the past, have we been so threatened with the spread of the wildest opinions in religion and government; and at no period, therefore, has there been so great a call to put into operation and multiply agencies, whose high conservatism shall furnish us with the means of making fast the foundations of the State, securing a sound and healthy feeling in the social condition, and preserving in their integrity the great truths of our holy religion.

"But besides these general considerations, which are of force with all men, and which claim our attention as citizens, there is a special obligation upon us, as churchmen, to originate some plan for the special benefit of the children of the Church."

We might well close this brief account of Bishop Polk, and what he did and said as prime founder of the University of the South, with words from the Epistle to the Hebrews: "*He being dead yet speaketh.*"

* * * * *

The present University of the South was re-founded by Bishop Quintard, Major Fairbanks, and others who placed a wooden cross on the domain in 1866. The trustees opened the institution in 1868. It now consists of a preparatory school, college of arts and sciences, and theological seminary. Bishop Bratton of Mississippi presides as Chancellor over the Board of Trustees and the Executive head or Vice-Chancellor is Dr. B. F. Finley, retiring. The new Vice-Chan-

cellor who takes control on July 1 is Dr. Alexander Guerry, President of the University of Chattanooga, whose father was the late Bishop of South Carolina and for fourteen years chaplain and professor at Sewanee. The endowments of the university amount to \$2,117,950.00, and the plant \$1,348,134.00.

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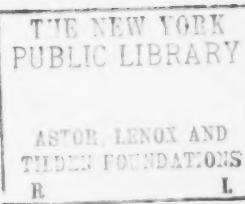
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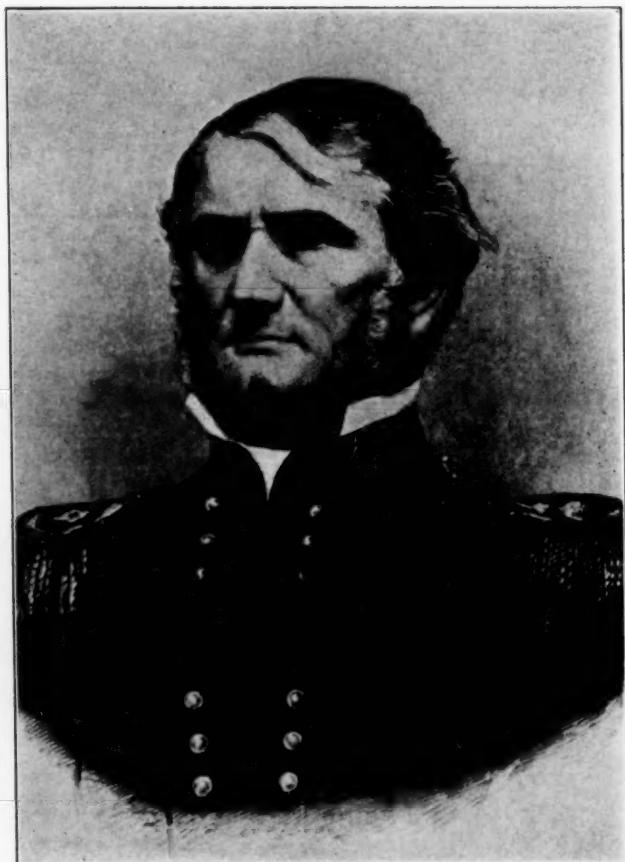
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LEONIDAS POLK
Major-General, C. S. A.

THE CONFEDERATE GENERAL

*By James Postell Jersey**

ON June 25, 1861, Leonidas Polk, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Louisiana, was commissioned a major-general in the provisional army of the Confederate States, and on July 4 was assigned to the command of Department Number 2 with headquarters at Memphis, Tennessee.

Bishop Polk accepted this commission with the greatest reluctance. He realized that for a bishop in the Church of God to bear arms was without precedent in the earlier and later ages of the Church and against the better mind of the Church in all ages. But the Confederate government was faced with a serious emergency. It was essential that the Mississippi valley should be immediately defended, Albert Sidney Johnston had not yet returned from the Pacific coast, no other general officer was available for the command, and a deputation of citizens from the Mississippi valley urged Polk's appointment upon Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy, as one in whom all citizens of the valley would have confidence. When Davis offered Polk the command, the latter declined it. The offer was twice renewed. Polk himself wrote: "I feel the step to which I have been invited is one of the very gravest character in all its bearings all the way around, and I am not going to decide it hastily."¹ He took counsel, notably with the venerable Bishop Meade of Virginia, whose first reply was, "Under all the circumstances of the case, taking my (Polk's) education, history, and natural character into the account, he *could not condemn it*. He was not expected to *advise it*."²

Pressed by Davis, Polk finally accepted the commission, first, because as he said, "I believe most solemnly that it is for constitutional liberty, which seems to have fled to us for refuge, for our hearthstones, and our altars that we strike;" and, second, because it was definitely understood that he would be relieved of command and army service as soon as his place could be filled. He twice tendered his resignation, once in 1861 and once in 1862, and it was twice refused.

**Honor graduate of West Point Military Academy, 1892. Corps of Engineers, Assistant Chief of Engineers, Brigadier General, 1920. Distinguished Service Medal for services in the World War. Professor of Mathematics in the University of the South since 1926. Ed. Note.*

¹*William M. Polk, "Leonidas Polk—Bishop and General," Vol. I., 357, (1915 edition).*

²*Ibid, I., 358-359. Italic are Polk's.*

In the North his acceptance was almost universally condemned and some severe strictures appeared in the northern Church press. In the South opinion was divided, but after the first shock the Church's leaders generally rallied to his support. On November 15, 1861, Bishop Meade wrote Polk:

"Your acceptance of the office I had defended before against all objections, as an exception to a general rule imperiously demanded by the emergencies of the country."³

Bishop Elliott of Georgia took the same line,⁴ and Bishop Otey of Tennessee wrote Polk upon hearing of his resignation of his command in 1861, urging him to continue in the army.⁵

An understanding of Polk's course is probably to be found in two dominant touchstones of his character—duty and courage. Once persuaded as to his duty, the courage to do it was always forthcoming. His Scotch-Irish ancestry and his immediate family background would be a factor in this. But we have already seen the particular development of these two qualities in Polk, independent of family support. At West Point, the watchword of the Academy—"duty"—found fertile soil for growth in young Polk. When he believed an injustice had been done him by the head of the department of drawing, he had the courage to demand his rights of the Secretary of War. At a time when not a single officer or cadet in West Point would acknowledge any religious belief, Polk, with one other cadet—Magruder, in the presence of the whole corps, confessed his sins, avowed his faith, and was baptized. Because he believed it was his duty to do so, against the wishes of his father and the advice of his friends that the army would afford him a distinguished career, he resigned his commission, abandoned the army, and entered the ministry. Likewise, faced with the call of duty, he sacrificed the pleasant life of a wealthy planter when called to the arduous task of missionary bishop of the Southwest.

When, therefore, on June 22, 1861, he wrote Bishop Elliott, "*I have undertaken this work because it seemed the duty next me, a duty I trust God will allow me to get through with without delay, that I may return to chosen and usual work,*"⁶ it was to be expected that his usual courage in the face of vigorous and even bitter criticism would not be wanting.

After the passage of the years we must conclude that Dr. Hopkins, bishop of Vermont and presiding bishop, had about the right of it when he wrote Mrs. Polk after the Bishop's death:⁷

³William M. Polk, "Leonidas Polk—Bishop and General, I., 376.

⁴Ibid, I., 366.

⁵Ibid, I., 377-379.

⁶Polk, I., 361. *Italics are Polk's.*

⁷Polk *supra*, I., 365.

"I deeply regretted your dear husband's act in accepting a general's commission in the army; but I never doubted that he was governed by the purest conscientious desire to do what he regarded as his duty to God and to his country. The spirit of a Christian martyr was an element in his lofty character, and while I could not have seen the case in the same light, I was well persuaded that he regarded his course as a sacrifice laid on the altar of truth, and went forth believing himself to be called to wield the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. To our beloved brethren in the South he has left a legacy of zeal and devotion never surpassed and rarely equalled in the whole range of human history. And the memory of his labors for the Church, and his sacrifices in the cause of independence, will be cherished in the hearts of thousands through future generations, after the false glory of worldly triumphs shall have passed away."

Because he expected momentarily to be relieved of his army duty, Bishop Polk resigned neither his office nor his jurisdiction. He arranged for Elliott, Otey and Lay to visit his parishes. He never again exercised any episcopal function and on only four occasions, other than the times when he read service, did he officiate in the capacity of a priest of the Church: at the death bed of Major Edward Butler; at the marriage of General John Morgan; at the baptism of General Hood within a month of Polk's death; and at the baptism of General Joseph E. Johnston a few days later.

Polk had little theoretical or practical preparation for the duties of high military command. His actual army experience had been negligible as he had resigned from the army a few months after graduation from West Point. But the four gruelling years at the Academy had given him a disciplined body and mind, with the power and habit of clear and logical reasoning from observed facts to sound conclusions. Long years of work as bishop of the Southwest and of Louisiana had given him an intimate knowledge of the peoples and geography of the Mississippi valley and the regions where his military talents were to be exercised, and he had unquestionably the power to command and to lead.

In two cases where he had independent command—at Belmont in Missouri and in his operations against Sherman in northern Mississippi and Alabama—he achieved brilliant success. But as corps commander under Bragg in the Kentucky and Tennessee campaigns—at Perryville, Stone's River, Tullahoma and Chickamauga—his conduct has been assailed. Both he and the other corps commanders have been charged with a lamentable spirit of insubordination, criticism, and even with direct disobedience and disloyalty. We shall see later whether these

charges against Polk are justified and whether Bragg's incompetency and vacillation excuse Polk's actions and those of his colleagues in those battles. They do, however, furnish a sad commentary on the contention in the high command of the Army of Tennessee. There can be no question that as a corps commander at Shiloh under Albert Sidney Johnston, whom he loved and admired, and under Joseph E. Johnston, whom he regarded almost as highly, Polk rendered loyal, courageous and efficient service.

On July 13, 1861, Polk assumed command of the department of the Mississippi which embraced West Tennessee, a small strip of Alabama, and the parts of Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana, adjacent to the Mississippi river. The states of Missouri and Kentucky were not included in Polk's department and three armies in Missouri and Arkansas—under Price, Hardee and McCullough—were not subject to Polk's command. Divided command, personal animosities and jealousies, states rights, and lack of timely cooperation, in spite of some local successes such as the Confederate victory at Wilson's creek in Missouri on August 10th, rendered fruitless Polk's ambitious plans for the conquest of Missouri. When on September 2, President Davis extended Polk's command to embrace Arkansas and all military operations in Missouri, it was too late.

Polk now concentrated on the defense of the Mississippi river. The work already begun at Fort Pillow was pushed, Island No. 10 was occupied in the middle of August, and Polk was anxious to occupy both Paducah and Columbus in Kentucky. Here he was partially frustrated by the peculiar political situation in Kentucky. This state had taken the impossible position of neutrality. This condition worked to the advantage of the Federals and the disadvantage of the Confederates because the latter were bound under their doctrine of states rights to respect Kentucky's avowed intent, whereas the Federals were not. Faced with the necessity of forestalling Grant's occupancy of both Paducah and Columbus, Polk on September 4th occupied Columbus as his first line of defence. When this action was reported in Richmond, the Secretary of War ordered Polk to withdraw his forces. Polk appealed to Davis and the latter sustained Polk on the ground that "the necessity justifies the action."

On September 15, 1861, General Albert Sidney Johnston assumed command of all Confederate forces in the West—an appointment which Polk had long urged. Johnston confirmed Polk's seizure of Columbus, and assigned him to the command of the first division, specially charged with the defense of the Mississippi river. General Johnston's biographer later wrote:⁸

⁸Col. Wm. P. Johnston, "Life of General Albert Sidney Johnston," p. 322.

"It was no small consideration to feel that he (Johnston) had in so responsible a position a friend to whose loyalty of heart and native chivalry he could trust entirely, and one who, if long unused to arms, was yet by virtue of early training and a bold, aggressive spirit every inch a soldier. Henceforth General Polk was the right arm of his commander."

In November, 1861, General U. S. Grant with a force of 3,500 men attempted to dislodge Polk from Columbus by capturing the latter's camp of observation at Belmont, Missouri, opposite Columbus. Polk sallied forth from his stronghold, crossed the river, decisively defeated Grant on November 7th at what is called the battle of Belmont, and pursued him to his transports. For this victory the Congress at Richmond passed resolutions commanding Polk and his army.

Columbus formed a strong left flank for the Confederate line and it was so well fortified under Polk's direction as to be dubbed "the Gibraltar of the West." But the capture of Forts Henry on the Tennessee and Donelson on the Cumberland by Grant in February, 1862, made Columbus untenable and under order of the Secretary of War it was evacuated early in March. The effect of the withdrawal from Columbus upon the morale of the Confederate army, following so soon after the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson, was bad. Johnston had been compelled to abandon Nashville, Tennessee, and had concentrated his army of 40,000 about Corinth, Mississippi.

In the reorganization of the Confederate forces around Corinth following the disasters of February and March of 1862, the army was made up in four corps and styled "The Army of Mississippi." General Johnston was commander-in-chief with General Beauregard as second in command, General Bragg was chief of staff, and the four corps commanders were Polk, Bragg, Hardee and Breckinridge. Bragg not only assumed the double duty of chief of staff and corps commander, but more than a third of the army was in his corps.

In the meantime the Federal forces of about 33,000 men, commanded by Grant, had been assembled near Pittsburg Landing on the west bank of the Tennessee river, some 25 miles north of Corinth. Buell with about 30,000 men was marching to join Grant. Johnston was determined to attack Grant before Buell could arrive.

On April 6, 1862, after almost fatal delay in reaching the desired position, the Confederates attacked the Union army at Shiloh. Polk led the left, Bragg the center, Hardee the right, with Breckinridge in reserve. Grant was caught napping and was badly routed. Tactically the first day's battle was a Confederate victory. Polk handled his corps well considering the very faulty general arrangement for the attack, for which he was not responsible—two corps in the first line and

one in each of the other two. Consequently as reenforcements were thrown in, there was an intermingling of troops from three or four corps and all unity of command was destroyed. Polk captured Prentiss' division of 2,200 men, but his own corps lost in killed and wounded nearly one-third of its number, which gives some idea of the severity of the fighting on his front. General Johnston was killed on that first day and a Northern historian has said, "The South could better have spared an army."⁹ The Confederate attack slackened, night fell, and before morning Buell's army had fully arrived. Beauregard, who succeeded Johnston in command, had no new troops to fill up the thinned and fatigued battalions. The battle of the second day, the 7th, was a drawn fight. The Confederates retreated to Corinth and then to Tupelo, Mississippi. General Beauregard in his "Military Operations"¹⁰ thus speaks of Polk's conduct on the second day:

"Just about the time (10:30 a. m.) when General McCook (of the Federals) was assuming the offensive with his whole division, and was near pushing through the gap between General Breckinridge's left and General Bragg's right, caused by the absence of General Polk with one of his divisions, the latter arrived on the field. . . . Dashing forward with drawn sword, at the head of Chatham's fine division, he soon formed his line of battle at the point where his presence was so much needed, and, with unsurpassed vigor, moved on against a force at least double his own, making one of the most brilliant charges of infantry made on either day of the battle. He drove back the opposing column in confusion. . . ."

On June 21, 1862, Beauregard, because of long-continued ill health, was relieved of the command of the Army of Mississippi and was succeeded by Bragg. Leaving part of Van Dorn's force to look after West Tennessee, Bragg moved the rest of his army to Chattanooga early in August. He reorganized it into two corps or wings under Polk and Hardee respectively. Then in cooperation with Kirby Smith in East Tennessee, he moved around the left flank of the Union army now commanded by Buell, and actually interposed a large part of his force between the Federal army and its base at Louisville, Kentucky. Vacillating action and the political activities of Bragg looking to the installation of a civil government in Kentucky favorable to the Confederacy, permitted Buell to extricate his army from its embarrassing situation and withdraw in safety to Louisville.

After remaining in Louisville but one week, just long enough to recruit thousands of new men and to rest his veterans, Buell advanced the last days of September with about 58,000 men. Bragg was at

⁹J. K. Hosmer, "The Appeal to Arms," p. 104.
¹⁰Vol. I., 313.

Frankfort, 50 miles from Polk, installing a Confederate civil government. Convinced that Buell in full force was intending to attack Frankfort, in which he was mistaken, Bragg ordered Polk to advance towards Louisville and occupy the villages of Taylorsville, Shepardsville, and Mt. Washington, and prepare to attack Buell's flank. When Polk started to obey these instructions he was informed by Wharton, commander of the cavalry, that Buell was advancing upon him (Polk) in heavy force. This meant, as it turned out, that Bragg had 36,000 men around Frankfort to oppose 12,000 Federals, leaving Polk with 16,000 men around Bardstown to oppose 58,000 Federals. To attack Buell under such circumstances would, in Polk's judgment, be disastrous. He consulted with his wing and division commanders and they unanimously endorsed his views. On October 3rd, he notified Bragg to this effect. Polk thereupon retreated to Perryville and Harrodsburg, there making contact with Kirby Smith who was retreating from Frankfort. In front of Perryville, Polk prepared to give battle and made his dispositions accordingly. Polk had about 16,000 men. Directly opposed to him was the Federal left flank—McCook's corps with 12,500; the Federal center under Gilbert with 23,000 and the Federal right under Crittenden with 22,500, far overlapped the Confederate left. Just before the battle opened, Bragg arrived on the field. Bragg not only approved in the main of Polk's dispositions, but declined to assume command and left Polk free to conduct the operations under his own plan.

McCook was attacked with energy, while the Union right and center, hardly three miles away, were not aware of it. Through some atmospheric condition the cannon were not heard.¹¹ McCook was driven a mile with serious loss in men and guns, by which time the Federal center became aware of what was going on and advanced to his support. The advantage of that day lay with the Confederates.

Bragg was well pleased with that day's work but did not know what to do next. With the assembly of all of his forces about Harrodsburg, including Kirby Smith's army, by October 10th, he was nearly equal in numbers and superior in materials to Buell. Smith, Hardee and Polk were appalled at his vacillation. Finally, Buell settled the problem for Bragg by pressing the latter's left flank, endeavoring to carry out the former's original plan of cutting Bragg off from Cumberland Gap and East Tennessee. On October 13th the Confederate evacuation of Kentucky began in the direction of East Tennessee.

We have discussed this action in some detail because later Bragg accused Polk of insubordination and outright disobedience to his orders. Polk's biographer answers these charges, heavily supported with docu-

¹¹*Hosmer, supra, p. 225.*

mentary evidence, as follows: (1) Bragg made no such charges until May 20, 1863,—eight months after the events with which they were associated; (2) When he returned to the field of action from his ill-starred political sojourn at Frankfort, Bragg had no fault to find with Polk, and not only did not relieve the latter from command, but allowed him to carry out his plan of battle and direct the operations; (3) That night at Perryville he made it quite evident to Polk and Hardee that he was much pleased with all that they had done for him that day; (4) In his report of the battle written two days after the action, he said: "To Major-General Polk commanding the forces, to Major-General Hardee commanding the left wing, and Major-General Cheatham, Buckner, and Anderson, commanding divisions, is mainly due the brilliant achievement on this memorable field. Nobler troops were never more gallantly led." (5) Bragg entrusted to Polk the retreat into Tennessee. (6) Polk himself denied that he had failed to carry out any of Bragg's orders except those which allowed him some discretion, and such he (Polk) considered those in dispute to allow.

Why Bragg's changed attitude? Because the Kentucky campaign raised an uproar of dissatisfaction in both the North and the South. With far less justice than Davis' removal of Bragg would have been, Lincoln relieved Buell as commander in the West. Buell had at least driven the Confederates out of Kentucky and had not lost the confidence of his subordinates. But Davis, with a loyalty which does more credit to his heart than his head, would not listen to Bragg's removal, although it was already certain that he had lost the confidence of almost all of his corps and division commanders. Davis' duty became increasingly clear: either he should have relieved Bragg of command or he should have discharged Bragg's corps commanders and given him subordinates who had confidence in him. Davis did neither the one nor the other and disaster was long foreshadowed to the Confederate operations in the West.

The Union army, now commanded by Rosecrans, followed the Confederate movement and in December, 1862, was concentrated at Nashville. On January 1, 2, and 3, 1863, Rosecrans moved out of that city and engaged Bragg's army at Stone's River (Murfreesborough), Tennessee. In the meantime Polk had been promoted from major-general to lieutenant-general. In command of the center, the operations of Polk's corps on the first day were skillfully conducted and met with marked success. The attack of the second day, made over Polk's protest, was disastrously checked by heavy artillery fire, and Bragg was compelled to withdraw his army to Tullahoma, Tennessee.

In June and July, 1863, Rosecrans, by a series of masterly turning movements, without fighting a single major battle, successfully

maneuvered the Confederate army entirely out of middle Tennessee and compelled it to retreat beyond the Tennessee river.

Early in July, Polk, Cheatham, Hardee, Quintard and Hodgson—all names intimately connected either with the birth or growth of the University of the South—were encamped at or near University place, “the site of the great university that was to be,” as described by a Union commissary officer who praised its cool springs and refreshing shade, but lamented his lack of a supply of whiskey properly to round out life. Its crude buildings, even its cornerstone, had been destroyed, and its endowment fund dissipated. One may wonder what Polk’s mental reactions were on this his last visit to the spot which he had so much loved and to which he had devoted so much labor and so much of his splendid ability and talents.

In September, 1863, the Confederate army was concentrated along Chickamauga Creek. Rosecrans thought that Bragg was in retreat and in his anxiety to catch him and cut him off, the former’s corps, three in number, were so badly separated that Bragg might have destroyed them one by one.¹² But he let his opportunity slip and elected to wait. Finally on September 19 and 20, the battle was joined. The Union army of 58,000 men was commanded by Thomas on the left, McCook on the right, with Crittenden in reserve.

On the first day Bragg was outnumbered, but not on the second. In the first day’s battle Polk commanded the right and Hood temporarily, pending the arrival of Longstreet, led the left. September 19th was a day of fierce encounters and Polk on the right had the responsibility of the attack on the Union left under Thomas. Although by night Polk had been unable to break through Thomas’ wing, he felt confident of victory on the morrow. That night Longstreet from Virginia arrived with reinforcements bringing Bragg’s army to 66,000 men, and to Longstreet was assigned the command of the Confederate left for the next day.

On the night of the 19th about 10 o’clock at Bragg’s headquarters, the commander ordered Polk to attack again at daybreak. He also told him that Hill would be under Polk’s orders and not independent of Polk as he had been the first day of battle. Since Hill had but recently been promoted from major-general to lieutenant-general, and since General Bragg did not himself notify Hill of what was virtually a demotion, but left it for Polk to notify him of his changed status, Hill was needlessly affronted. At 11:30 p. m. Polk issued the necessary orders to Hill, Cheatham and Walker, the corps commanders. His couriers delivered the orders promptly to Cheatham and Walker but could not find Hill. At 5 a. m. Polk learned of the failure to reach

¹²J. K. Hosmer, “Outcome of the Civil War,” p. 31.

Hill for the first time and at 5:30 a. m. sent the order to attack at once to Hill's division commanders—Cleburne and Breckinridge. When these latter orders were delivered Hill was found with them, but he and his division commanders stated that their men must first receive their rations. As a consequence the attack of the second day, the 20th, did not begin until 9:30 a. m.

In the Federal camp on the night of the 19th, Rosecrans called a council of war. Thomas who had borne the brunt of Polk's assaults was physically exhausted and fell asleep every minute. When roused to give his opinion he invariably answered, "I would strengthen the left," which was his wing. Rosecrans followed this advice too literally and depleted his right so much that disaster came that way.

Polk opened his second's day attack with an unshrinking onslaught upon Thomas. All forenoon the battle raged and the Federal line still held. Then Rosecrans, through misinformation, made a gap in his right. Perfectly timed and perfectly executed, Longstreet on the Confederate left attacked in the early afternoon the Federal right. It was completely routed and the Confederates swept to the right, partially surrounding Thomas; but the latter made a horseshoe formation which the topography favored, and with about two-thirds of the Union army, beat off the Confederates, holding the position until nightfall when he withdrew, thus earning for himself the sobriquet, "The Rock of Chickamauga."

Polk and Longstreet urged Bragg to order a pursuit that very night, for the moon was bright, before the Union forces had time to reorganize and throw up defenses at Chattanooga. But Bragg could not "believe that he had won a victory," not having been present on the field of battle. He seemed again to be possessed by paralysis, but in a few days he summoned enough energy to charge Polk and Hill with neglect of duty, suspended both from command, and preferred charges for Polk's courtmartial. The reader can judge for himself, from the statement of facts given above explaining why the attack did not begin at daybreak, as to the justice of these charges. But the following are also to be noted:

(1) Whether Polk was responsible or not for the delay in attacking on the 20th, it did not occasion any failure in the Confederate success for the enemy was clearly beaten and driven from the field. But the order to pursue by which alone the victory could be clinched, could only come from General Bragg, and he would not give it.

(2) The government dismissed the charges against Polk and gave him a responsible, independent command in Mississippi.

(3) A responsible Northern historian, whose impartiality in this particular matter can scarcely be questioned, states:¹³

¹³ Hosmer, J. K., "Outcome of the Civil War," p. 34. *Italics ours.*

"He (Bragg) subsequently brought accusations of neglect against that lieutenant (Polk); *but it is far easier to believe the statement of Polk, that the conditions made an early movement impossible.*"

(4) The battle of Chickamauga, with Polk commanding the right wing, was a great victory for the Confederates and would have been greater if followed up by vigorous pursuit. Yet this same army, a month later (November 23-25), with Bragg still commanding but with Polk out of it, was disastrously defeated. Why this sudden change in fortune? Let us hear what Hosmer, our Northern historian, says:¹⁴

"The powerful blow delivered by the Confederacy at Chickamauga, though to some extent an offset to the Federal successes of the summer, did not really balance them, and had a sequence full of disappointment to the South. Longstreet believed that on the field the tactics of the afternoon of September 20th were gravely at fault, and that the advantage gained was not properly pushed home. Chattanooga was only partially invested, whereas, in the opinion of this strong commander of the left wing, the Federal communications might and should have been entirely cut. Fortunately for the Federals, the camp of their adversaries was a scene of contention, Bragg having no friends among his higher officers, and on his part criticising and denouncing them in unmeasured terms. Polk was removed from his command; D. H. Hill, too, was now forced out of service, not to draw his sword again until the last days of the war. Though Hardee was recalled from the South and given Polk's place, his relations with Bragg were scarcely more friendly; while every line of Longstreet's memoirs implies disgust at what he regards as the mismanagement of his chief."

In December President Davis, finally convinced by the disasters of Chattanooga, relieved Bragg as commander of the Army of Tennessee and assigned Joseph E. Johnston to it. Polk was placed in charge of the department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana. He applied himself with great vigor which was felt not only in the army but among the citizens. He completely frustrated Sherman's advance from Vicksburg in February 1864, which had as its objective the seizure of Selma and Mobile, Alabama, by making a juncture with Sooy Smith moving south from Memphis. Polk prevented this juncture and compelled both Smith and Sherman to retreat and the latter gave up his objective.

In May 1864, Johnston, faced at Dalton with a vastly superior force under Sherman, called for aid from Polk. The latter responded with nearly his entire army, Bragg in Richmond making a last abortive

¹⁴Hosmer, J. K., "Outcome of the Civil War," pp. 45, 46.

attempt to block the transfer. When Polk reported to Johnston the latter grasped his hand and, warmly shaking it, said, "How can I thank you? I asked for a division, but you have come yourself and brought me your army."¹⁵

Polk gave unqualified loyalty and efficient support to Johnston whom he greatly respected and admired and in whom he had implicit confidence. Johnston's retreat was a series of masterly rear guard engagements and withdrawals which are quoted by military writers as models of their type.

The ragged, starving, poorly equipped soldier of the Confederacy has become almost traditional. It is interesting to note, however, that in the retreat to Atlanta, so far as Polk's corps is concerned, his reports and letters give strong evidence to the contrary. He refers several times to the cheerful and splendid spirit of his men as well as to the fact that they were well clothed and equipped, and that food supplies were abundant and good. Perhaps we have here one of the secrets of confidence which the private soldier had in him as a leader. He had realized the great military truth that an army travels on its stomach. The attitude of the soldiers towards General Polk is indicated by Lieutenant-Colonel Fremantle of the English army who met General Polk in May of 1863 and reports his impressions in his "Three Months in the Southern States":¹⁶

"Lieutenant-General Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana, who commands the other *corps d'armée*, is a good-looking, gentleman-like man, with all the manners and affability of a 'grand seigneur.' He is fifty-seven years of age, tall, upright, and looks much more like the soldier than the clergyman.

"He is much beloved by the soldiers on account of his great personal courage and agreeable manners. I had already heard no end of anecdotes of him, told me by my traveling companions, who always alluded to him with affection and admiration. In his clerical capacity I had always heard him spoken of with the greatest respect."

Consequently when Polk joined Johnston's army he was greeted with much enthusiasm by officers and men of the different divisions, with most of which he had previously served. As General Johnston later wrote: "As General Polk had served in that army from its formation, he was greatly loved and admired in it."¹⁷ And another companion in arms stated:¹⁸

"Leonidas Polk's character, viewed in its double light of bishop and general, priest and soldier, in its severe sim-

¹⁵Polk, *supra*, II., 351.

¹⁶Quoted in Polk, *supra*, II., 213.

¹⁷Ibid., II., 361.

¹⁸Ibid., II., 361.

plicity of truthfulness, inspired the warmest love and most ardent admiration. His brother officers confided in him and relied upon him; the soldiers trusted and loved him."

But his career of Bishop and General was drawing to its close. On Sunday June 12, General Polk seemed more abstracted than usual. He spent the day reading his Bible and the small book prepared by Dr. Quintard¹⁹ for the use of the soldiers as a substitute for the Book of Common Prayer. About 10 o'clock he read the Church service to officers and men who listened with rapt attention, standing bareheaded in the pouring rain. This was the last occasion on which Bishop Polk conducted divine service.

The next day, the 13th, broke foggy and rainy. That morning he received a note from Johnston asking his opinion on the subject of occupying the intrenchments to the best advantage. His reply was made in a clear and military style the afternoon of the same day. That evening he went to army headquarters and had a consultation with Johnston who expressed the desire to make an inspection of an advanced position on Pine Mountain the following morning, and requested General Polk to accompany him. Polk's last letter was written to his daughter on this day in response to the news of her marriage, expressing the hope that the war would soon end, and stating that the "army is in good spirits, and confident, under the blessing of God, of success in the coming conflict. It is also in high condition. Our trust is in God."²⁰

June 14th dawned clear. General Polk took an early breakfast and had his horse ready to be mounted as soon as General Johnston should arrive. The latter came soon after 8 o'clock and with Polk and Hardee and the various officers of their staffs rode out to Pine Mountain, a sharp hill behind the crest of which the party dismounted. They then moved on foot to the top from which they had a full view of the surrounding country. Both lines of battle were plainly visible, and men, busy on both sides with axe and shovel, were strengthening their positions with trenches and guns. The scene was one of unusual grandeur, and in the enthusiasm of the moment some of the officers stood on the parapet and exposed themselves unnecessarily to the view of the enemy. The men of the battery warned them of the danger. While they were speaking, there was a flash, a puff of smoke, a sharp report, and in an instant fragments of splintered rock and flying earth scattered around them as a shot was buried in the parapet. The officers separated, each seeking some place of greater safety. General Johnston and General Polk moved together to the left, and stood for a

¹⁹Charles Todd Quintard (Dec. 22, 1824-Feb. 15, 1898), Bishop of Tennessee (1865-1898).

²⁰Polk, *supra*, II., 367-368.

few moments in earnest conversation behind a parapet. Several shots now passed together just above the parapet, and touched the crest of the hill. Johnston and Polk having apparently completed their observations began to retrace their steps. Johnston fell a few paces behind, and diverged to the right. General Polk walked again to the crest of the hill as if to take a farewell view. Folding his arms he stood intently gazing on the scene below. While he thus stood a cannon shot crashed through his breast, and opening a wide door, let free that indomitable spirit.²¹

Hardee, bending over the lifeless form, said to Johnston, "General, this has been a dear visit." Then kneeling by the body he cried, "My dear, dear friend, little did I think this morning that I should be called upon to witness this." Johnston, with tears in his eyes, knelt and laid his hand on the brow of the dead soldier, saying, "We have lost much! I would rather anything but this!" During the afternoon Hood wrote Johnston, "I am too sad to come over this evening. It is hard that one so noble, generous and brave as our friend should be taken from us." That afternoon the following general order to the army marked the end of the short but eventful and colorful military career of Leonidas Polk:

Headquarters, Army of Tennessee,
In the Field, June 14, 1864.

General Field Orders No. 2.

Comrades: You are called to mourn your first captain, your oldest companion in arms. Lieutenant-General Polk fell today at the outpost of this army,—the army he raised and commanded, in all of whose trials he shared, to all of whose victories he contributed.

In this distinguished leader we have lost the most courteous of gentlemen, the most gallant of soldiers.

The Christian, patriot, soldier, has neither lived nor died in vain. His example is before you; his mantle rests with you.

J. E. Johnston, *General.*

Kinlock Falconer, A. A.-G.

A war correspondent, writing from the front, thus expressed the feeling of the army:

²¹The Rev. Dr. Slack, a contributor to this issue, formerly rector of Mount Olivet Church in New Orleans, has recently written Dr. Chorley, the editor of this MAGAZINE, that in 1902 he was visited by a man named Flemming who stated that he was present that 14th of June, 1864, with the gunner crew that fired the shot which killed General-Bishop Polk. Dr. Slack quotes Flemming as follows:

"That morning we saw some men ride out to reconnoitre, and one of the men said, 'Those are big bugs. Let's take a shot at them.' One of them, it was the Bishop, had on a white shirt with ruffles on it. He was a handsome man, and seemed to go out in advance of the others. The first cannon ball went beyond the mark, but the second hit its mark and we saw the big man throw up his hands, and we said, 'We got him.' Later in the day we heard that it was General Polk who had been killed."

"The history of this dismal period will present no name of more romantic interest. He was a great churchman—he was a great warrior. He laid aside his mitre of bishop to take up the sword of patriot. For three years, in every variety of command and under every circumstance, he has sustained the most unsullied reputation. As chief of a corps, he had no superior; as a separate departmental officer, he certainly possessed amplitude of comprehension, resource and industry, to say nothing of the higher points. As a man, he was unrivaled for the graces of culture, native dignity, and high bearing. He was affable, self-possessed, and approachable. No man looked the hero more effectually. There was manliness in his eye and lip and gait; there was true nobility in his whole aspect. His soldiers—and, at one time or another, he commanded all the troops of his army—were devoted to him. He was so dashing in battle, he was so wise and just in council, they could not but love him."

A private soldier wrote:

"His soldiers ever loved and honored him; they called him 'Bishop Polk.' 'Bishop Polk' was ever a favorite with the army; and when any position was to be held, and it was known that 'Bishop Polk' was there, we knew and felt that 'all was well.' "

Jefferson Davis in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," pays this tribute to General Polk:

"Our army, our country, and mankind at large sustained an irreparable loss in the death of that noble Christian and soldier, Lieutenant-General Polk. . . . Since the calamitous fall of General Albert Sidney Johnston at Shiloh, and of General Thomas J. Jackson at Chancellorsville, the country sustained no heavier blow than in the death of General Polk."²²

On the afternoon of the 14th the body was taken to Atlanta by rail. There it lay in state in St. Luke's Church where many called to pay their respects to the soldier-priest. At noon on the following day an appropriate service was held and an address delivered by Dr. Quintard, the following extract appearing in the *Atlanta Register*:

It was my privilege to enjoy his friendship—it was my privilege to share his few hours of unrestrained social intercourse. And if there was one thing above another which always shone forth, it was his unshaken confidence in God's providence—unshaken trust in God's love—his unselfish confidence in God's faithfulness.

He was eminently a man of prayer. Not praying where he could be seen of men, but retiring to commune with God in secret. He never ceased his devotions. He was instant in prayer; and I remember how, after the bloody field of Perry-

²²This and the above quoted in Polk, *supra*, II., 375, 389, 390.

ville, when the noise and heat of battle had passed, we were in the town of Harrodsburg. There was a beautiful church there, rich in architectural proportions and carved work, he asked me to visit with him. As we walked up the aisle alone, he exclaimed with emotion: "O, for the days when we went up to the house of the Lord, and compassed his altar with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving."

Reaching the chancel, he said to me, "Can we not have prayers?" and we knelt down, poured out our hearts to God, and he left the sanctuary with a face all bathed in tears. Such a soldier did not fight for fame. I remember at Chickamauga, when we were seated upon the ground a few days after the battle, he said to me, "God answered my prayers in giving us this great victory; I prayed long and earnestly that he might bless our arms."

Yes, he was emphatically a man of prayer. The last few weeks of his life were more than others consecrated to prayer. As we look back upon them, now that he is gone, we see how God was preparing him for the higher communion of the Church triumphant.

At midnight, with a faithful few, he baptized one of his companions in arms, the gallant Hood; and received a few days later his commanding General into the Church of Christ.—His last Sunday on earth he gathered all his staff and attendants about him, and with prayer and litany, supplication and praise, seemed to leave them his benediction. He was greatly beloved by his troops. The tears of his commanding General were mingled with those of his privates when he fell. And, O beloved, we are all smitten—the army, the country and the Church. We lift up our voice here between the porch and the altar, and cry to God for mercy. Mercy to our bleeding land, mercy to the hearts crushed by this monster calamity. O God! lift up thy rod lest we be utterly consumed. Judge, O God! between us and our enemies.

The body was then taken by rail with full military honors and escort to St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia. There, on the morning of June 29, 1864, the bishops of Georgia, Mississippi, and Arkansas, in the presence of clergy and laity, representatives of the city, the army, and the Confederate government, all places of business being closed, read the burial service. Dr. Elliott, the bishop of Georgia and presiding bishop of the Church in the Confederate States, and Bishop Polk's dearest friend, delivered the burial address.²³ The body was then interred beneath the chancel window in the rear of the church.

As he had lived so he died. That gonfalon, that guiding beacon upon which he always kept his eyes steadfastly fixed, and which doubtless he saw in his parting glance over the mighty panorama visible from the top of Pine Mountain, was his personal interpretation of the motto of his stern Alma Mater, "The duty next me."

²³Printed in full elsewhere in this issue.

FUNERAL SERVICES

AT THE BURIAL OF THE

RIGHT REV. LEONIDAS POLK, D.D.

TOGETHER WITH THE SERMON

DELIVERED

IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, AUGUSTA, GA.,

ON JUNE 29, 1864:

BEING THE FEAST OF ST. PETER THE APOSTLE.

They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.—Psalm cxxvi, 6.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
PRINTED BY EVANS & COGSWELL.
1864.



FUNERAL SERMON

PREACHED BY

THE RT. REV'D. STEPHEN ELLIOTT, JUNIOR,
*Bishop of Georgia and Presiding Bishop of the Confederate
Protestant Episcopal Church.*

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL, chapter xi, verse 28.—*The Master is come and calleth for thee.*

God hath made everything beautiful in his time, and nothing is more beautiful than Death, when it comes to one who has faithfully fulfilled all the duties of life, and is ready for its summons. To such an one the solemn message, "The Master is come and calleth for thee," has no terrors. It is but the long-expected announcement of rest—but the long-desired ending of the toil of life. The battle has been fought, the victory won, and the war-worn veteran is heralded by his vanquished enemy to his crown of righteousness.

And it makes no matter to the faithful servant under what shape that summons comes. In the history of the Church of Christ the death of its most illustrious saints has taken the revolting form of violence. Some have gone to glory imitating Christ in the shame and agony of the Cross. Others have ascended to the gates of Paradise in chariots of fire. The spirit of the Martyr Stephen passed away amid the curses of an infuriated mob; and the gentle James was smitten with the sword of ruthless tyranny. Why, then, stand appalled that, in these latter days, our brother should have died by the hand of violence? Has human nature changed? Has fanaticism learned any mercy? Does the fire which is lighted from hell ever cease its fury against the children of the Most High? We have been plainly told in Holy Writ that, in the latter days, perilous times should come, and come they have to us. Instead of being appalled, Bishops of the Church of Christ, let us rather prepare for what may be our own future fate! Do ye not hear the voices of your own brethren, Ministers and Bishops, hounding on these hordes of lawless men to the desolation of our homes, our altars, our families, ourselves? The body which lies before us is the last, but not the only one, of our martyred Bishops. The heart of the gentle, loving Cobbs was broken by the vision of coming evil which he foresaw. The lion-hearted Meade died just when the hand of destruction was laid upon his quiet home, and its sacred associations were scattered to the winds. Otey,

the high-souled, the honest-hearted, the guileless, expired a prisoner in his own home, his closing eyes looking upon a desolated diocese, a scattered and ruined people, an exiled ministry—all the work of his life in ruins. The mangled corpse of our beloved brother closes, for the present, the succession of our Episcopal martyrs. Who shall come next? I, in the proper order of succession. God's will be done. My only prayer is, that, if He sees necessary, I may die in defence of the same holy cause, and with the like faith and courage.

Our brother fills the grave of a Christian warrior! Although a minister of the Prince of peace and a Bishop in the Church of God, he has poured out his life-blood for us upon the field of battle. Some, even of those for whom this precious blood is shed, have cavilled at it. Many, even of those who are stirring up this hellish warfare, have found a mote in their brother's eye. As he has given his life for us, our duty is not only to honor his ashes, but to place his noble life, and still nobler death, beyond the reach of human calumny. His judgment is with his God, whom he loved so earnestly, whom he served so faithfully. His Master has come and called for him, and with him we leave his cause gladly, joyfully, in unswerving confidence.

That we may form a just estimate of a man's life, we must keep with us the great principle which is its pervading influence; and we must consider it in connection with the natural temperament of the individual whose life we are examining. The sun does not change by his beams the outlines of the landscape upon which he shines. They remain ever the same, stern or soft, rugged or gentle, as they came from the hand of their Creator. The sun only bathes this natural arrangement in its flood of light, and clothes it with its robes of purple and of gold. And so with divine grace. It does not alter the great characteristics of a man's natural temperament. It only softens it, and illumines it, and makes it glorious to all who look upon it, and fills it with the fulness of God's divine spirit. St. Peter was by nature bold, impetuous, full of ardor and devotion, and in him the spirit of Christ found materials for a grandeur of design and a high-souled energy which made him foremost in all the acts which illustrated the earth-life of our Saviour and the annals of the Apostolic Church. Is any one inclined to disparage Peter because he was not the same gentle, loving spirit as John, or to quarrel with him because his fervent temper and burning zeal made him sometimes liable to rebuke? God raises up instruments in his Church for his own purposes, and moulds them according to his own predetermined counsels.

A man can not be ardent, uncompromising, single-minded, full of a grand ideal of religion, without being a mark for the criticism of the Church as well as of the world. Such men have been filled with a divine afflatus of which lookers-on know nothing. They seem, in the fulness

of their zeal and ardor, to be carried away by a spirit which is mistaken for the spirit of the world. It is not indeed the spirit of the world; it is only that they are fighting the world with the world's own fearlessness. "The children of this world," said our Saviour, "are wiser in their generation than the children of light." Such men as these—men specially raised up—do not permit the children of this world to assume this superiority. They meet them face to face—use different weapons, 'tis true, but use them alike—hurl at their adversaries the armor of the Lord, in the like spirit of zeal in which the armor of the world is hurled against them; and God means them to do it. There are times and occasions when such a spirit is not only right, but glorious, in the sight of the Lord. Look at our Saviour himself, when he lashed from the temple those who were dishonoring his Father's house! See him raging, like a man of war, among the money-changers and the hucksterers, overturning their tables, and casting out their merchandise! Hear that same Saviour when he burst forth in indignation against the Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, using such language as a weak Christianity would now find fault with. "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of Hell?" Hear St. Stephen, when he stood in the midst of the infuriated multitude and said: "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they have slain them which showed before the coming of the Just one; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers." Hear St. Paul, when he was withheld by Elymas the sorcerer: "O full of all subtlety and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?" Recalling instances like these, tell me if you can not perceive, mingled with the grace and love of the Gospel, a spirit of fiery indignation, rising and swelling in the bosoms of the Apostles, and Martyrs, and Saints, and even of our Lord himself, which should make us careful how we judge and condemn our brethren who may differ from us in spirit and in action. God raises up his own servants for his own use; elects them, calls them, prepares them, places them where they shall be ready for action, and in due time gives them their work to do. It rises up so plainly before them, that they cannot avoid it. It sweeps up to their feet; it involves them in its current. They oftentimes struggle against it, but it overpowers them by its irresistible circumstances, until at last they find themselves mere instruments in God's hands, doing His will, driven on by His spirit, supported by His strength, dying as His martyrs! Let us apply these principles to the life and conduct of him whose murdered body now lies before us.

In the year eighteen hundred and twenty-six we find, in the military school of the United States, a young man of heroic lineage, with the

fiery blood of the Revolution coursing in his veins, of independent fortune, of chivalric tone, of high and noble impulses, preparing himself for the service of his country. He had every qualification to ensure him success as a military man; every prerequisite for carrying him up to lofty reputation. No one doubts, for a moment, that had he followed the beck of ambition, he might have risen, as a soldier, to the very proudest rank in the army of the Union. His most fastidious critic has never doubted that he had military traits in his character of the very highest order. If personal courage, comprehensive views, quick perception, rapid combination, prompt decision, great administrative capacity, with the faculty of commanding men, and at the same time of attaching them to him, are the qualities which make a great military leader, then we, who knew him best and have longest acted with him, can bear our testimony to his possession of these qualities in a most eminent degree. They were his characteristics in everything he did—the qualities which have made him illustrious in every phase of his life. Upon this young man, thus preparing for the service of the world, Christ laid the touch of His divine spirit, and transformed him into a soldier of the Cross. He had work for him to do in his Church. He had use for those very qualities which would have fitted him for a glorious service of the world. The Church needed a bold and fearless man, full of youth and nerve, to plunge into the great wilderness of the Southwest, teeming, as it then was, with the young and vigorous life of the republic, swelling and surging under the rushing tide of emigration, and consecrate it to her service; and she found that champion in this youth of military training. The Church needed a man of high social position, with the carriage and manners of a gentleman, with the courtesy and grace of a well-bred Christian, to commend her to the consideration of men of hereditary wealth, of great refinement, of cultivated accomplishments. For in the vast country over which he was appointed to establish the Church, extremes were meeting—extremes of established position, and of struggle for position—of old settled landholders and of needy adventurers—of men with all the polish of foreign refinement, and of men with all the strength of unpolished intelligence. The Bishop who should go forth to conquer that country for the Church must possess manners as well as energy—cultivation as well as Christian courage—and the Church found such a combination in this young soldier, who had been snatched from the flatteries of the world. The Church needed a large slaveholder, who might speak boldly and fearlessly to his peers, as being one of themselves, about their duty to their slaves, and might teach them, by his living example, what that duty was, and how to fulfil it; and she found it in this young disciple. He combined in himself just the natural qualities and the accidental circumstances which fitted him for the work to which he was called; and when these had been sanctified

by the Spirit of Christ, and constraint was laid upon him to preach the Gospel, he went forth in the power of the Holy Ghost to the earnest fulfilment of his bishopric. And who shall dare to say that the fore-knowledge and election of the Head of the Church ended at this point? Who shall presume to say that Christ did not prepare this glorious servant for the final work of his life? It all depends upon the stand-point from which we view this conflict. If we consider it a mere struggle for political power, a question of sovereignty and of dominion, then should I be loath to mingle the Church of Christ with it in any form or manner. But such is not the nature of this conflict. It is no such war as nations wage against each other for a balance of power, or for the adjustment of a boundary. We are resisting a crusade—a crusade of license against law—of infidelity against the altars of the living God—of fanaticism against a great spiritual trust committed to our care. We are warring with hordes of unprincipled foreigners, ignorant and brutal men, who, having cast off at home all the restraints of order and of belief, have signalized their march over our devoted country by burning the Churches of Christ, by defiling the altars upon which the sacrifice of the death of our Saviour is commemorated, by violating our women, by raising the banner of servile insurrection by fanning into fury the demoniac passions of the ignorant and the vile! For active personal resistance to such an invasion might Christ well have fitted and prepared a servant, even though that servant should meanwhile have worn the mitre of a bishop. It is a wonderful coincidence (to say the least of it) that he who, in his young manhood, consecrated his sword as an offering to the Lord, should, in the ripeness of his old age, have resumed that sword to do the battles of Religion and the Church! Who knows the communings of a spirit like his with his Master? Up to that moment he had commended himself to the Church as a self-sacrificing, self-devoted servant and bishop. He had laid down everything at the foot of the Cross. He had stripped himself and his family of riches and of home. He had wandered with them, delicately trained and delicately nurtured, from resting-place to resting-place, until they felt that they were pilgrims and strangers, and had no sure abiding place. He had laid aside, for the Church's sake, the comforts of domestic life—being separated for months from wife and children—until at times he was, as Job says, strange to them. He had his mind, his heart, his soul teeming at all times with great ideas for her advancement and glory, so that his noble, generous soul was well-nigh bursting with its exuberant riches; and can you believe that all this was suddenly changed into a vain and paltry ambition of winning renown upon the battle-field? Why, his views were as much above all such littleness as the heavens are above the earth!

I speak what I do know when I affirm that the complexion which this war was to assume was known to him long before it burst upon our country. We had studied together for years the gathering elements; we had analyzed them; we had seen in them the ripening germs of irreligion, of unbelief, of ungodliness, of corruption, of cruelty, of license, which have since distinguished them, and we came long since to the deliberate conclusion that it was a struggle against which not only the State but the Church must do her utmost. Not merely the layman, but the priest. And this conclusion was not confined to our own breasts. Others of our brethren coincided with us in our views, and even the gentle, loving Cobbs told us, again and again, that when the moment came, old and infirm as he was, he should shoulder his musket and march to the battle-field! And when at last this great responsibility was laid upon him unexpectedly, it met him in the strict performance of his duty.

During the first year of the war, when our armies were in the peninsula of Virginia, he left his diocese upon an episcopal visitation to the soldiers from Louisiana, who then thronged those armies. Having fulfilled that mission, he returned to Richmond just when the Federal armies were preparing to sweep down the valley of the Mississippi and blot out its civilization. A committee of gentlemen from that valley was then at Richmond beseeching the President to appoint some man in whom the people of that vast region could have confidence, and around whom they might rally for its defence and preservation. Sidney Johnston, upon whom the President had relied as the commander of the forces of the Southwest, had not yet arrived from California. Beauregard and Joe Johnston were in command in Virginia. Magruder was in the peninsula. Jackson and the Hills and Longstreet had not yet exhibited their military skill, and were unknown in the valley of the West. The incomparable Lee was engaged in defending the frontiers of his own native state. Hardee was in the service of the State of Georgia. The emergency was great, for the Northwest was gathering all its clans to open the course of the Mississippi, the point which most nearly touched its interests. The people of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana were clamoring for a leader, and, unless one was furnished them, might abate their enthusiasm and make but faint resistance to invasion. At this critical moment the President bethought him of this man, whom he remembered as a young soldier of the academy, whom he knew as a bishop of the Church, whose lofty qualities he had marked all through life, and whose wide and commanding influence in the valley of the Mississippi he well understood. An unusual sphere in which to seek for a general; but, with his usual promptness and sagacity, he marked his man, and asked the commissioners if Bishop Polk would meet the wishes of the people of the valley. The reply was as prompt as the nomination. "The

very man; no one whom you could name of all at your command, would be so acceptable." Then arose the important question—Can he be persuaded, in this moment of his country's peril, when all eyes are turned upon him, and all hearts are yearning for him; when his home, his diocese, his Church, the sheep entrusted to his keeping and for whom Christ had died, are threatened not only with temporal but with spiritual destruction; when hordes of infidel foreigners, spawned upon our shores from their hotbeds of infidelity and ungodliness, are coming to preach blood and license to the slaves he was laboring to humanize and christianize; can he be persuaded, was the interesting question, to resume the sword which he had laid in youth upon the altar of God, and use it in their defence? There it lay, where he had placed it in the prime of life, a virgin and unsullied sword. Not a stain had dimmed its brightness; not a drop of blood had ever marred its purity! It was consecrated to his Saviour—a votive offering which he had made in the days of his early love. Can it be resumed with honor to his Church—with safety to his soul? For vain ambition, no! For worldly distinction, no! For the preservation of property, or even life under ordinary circumstances, no! But for the defence of his Church, the spouse and bride of Christ, for the purity of the altars to which he had been bound as a sacrifice, for the care of the sheep bought with Christ's death and committed to his charge, for the maintenance of the sacred trust of slavery, yes!—a thousand times yes! That sword had been laid upon that altar for the glory of God, and for the glory of God it might be resumed, and for the glory of God it was resumed, and has flashed with a celestial brightness in the eyes of the adversary, dazzling and confounding them. And God has blessed that sword upon every occasion of its use. No matter what was the fate of the rest of the army, wherever that sword was wielded, there was victory. He never knew a defeat. He never received a wound. He moved unharmed through all the perils of the battle-field. Until his work was accomplished upon earth and God would call him to his rest, no weapon that was directed against him ever prospered.

The mode in which Bishop Polk accepted the responsibility which was laid upon him was eminently characteristic of him. When he had determined to assume the military rank with which the President thought fit to invest him, he wrote to me to inform me of the step. "I did not consult you beforehand (were his words), for I felt that it was a matter to be decided between my Master and myself. I knew how it would startle the Church; how much criticism and obloquy it might fetch down; and I determined that all the responsibility should rest upon myself. When I had fully made up my mind to the step, I went to the valley and paid a visit to our venerable Father Meade, feeling it to be my duty to let him know, as the presiding bishop of our flock, what I

had determined upon. I told him distinctly that I had not come to consult him; I had come to communicate a decision and to ask his blessing. His answer was, 'Had you consulted me, I might not have advised you to assume the office of a general; but knowing you to be a sincere, earnest, God-fearing man, believing you to have come to your decision after earnest prayer for light and for direction, I will not blame you, but will send you to the field with my blessing.' " What our brother did he always did boldly, fearlessly, openly, in the face of God and of man. The act was always his own; the responsibility he never laid upon the shoulders of another.

There was in Bishop Polk's character an earnestness of purpose and a concentration of energy which distinguished everything he did. Whatever Christian work he took in hand, he labored at it with all his heart and soul. His early missionary work, his later diocesan supervision, his interest in the advancement of the slave, his grand university scheme, his military career, were all marked by a like intense devotion and absorption. And this characteristic of the man caused him sometimes to be misunderstood. He appeared to be so wrapped up in what he had in hand, that superficial observers supposed him to be neglecting concurrent duties, and even his own spiritual discipline. But never was there a greater mistake in the judgment of a man's character. During his conception and conduct of that glorious scheme of education which will remain as his enduring monument, I was his chosen colleague and constant companion. For months together we lived under the same roof, often occupying the same chamber, and interchanging, as brothers, our thoughts and feelings. During that period of three years he seemed, to those who saw only his outer life, to be entirely absorbed in the affairs of the university—to have no thought or care for anything else. But I, who was with him in his moments of retirement as well as of business, know better, and testify that I do know. At the very time when he was putting in motion every influence which might advance his gigantic enterprise, he was conducting a parish church in the City of New Orleans with the entire love of his people; he was managing a diocese which felt no neglect because of his other occupations; he was keeping up a correspondence with literary and scientific men co-extensive with the limits of the republic. His pen knew no rest. Midnight often found him at his desk, and early morning saw him resume his work with unflagging energy. He left nothing undone to ensure the success of his undertaking, and his enthusiasm and self-devotion were contagious. They spread to every one whom he approached, until his impulses animated all about him. Cold indeed was that nature, and selfish that heart, which he could not awaken to some generous and liberal emotions. Very fascinating were his manners, and that not from any art or design, but from the high-toned frankness of his nature, and

the noble feelings which welled up from his soul as from a fountain of truth and of purity. And during all this time, while he was so absorbed in his great purpose of linking education to the chariot-wheels of the Church, he never forgot the fresh spring of his conception, the author and designer of his plan. God was ever in his thoughts ; Christ, the head of the Church, was ever upon his lips ; the Holy Ghost, the enlightener of the understanding of men and the controller of their wills, was unceasingly invoked. Never was any step taken in this great work which was not preceded and accompanied by constant prayer. Never was any man approached whose cooperation was important, unless prayer preceded that approach. Every morning, ere he sallied forth upon his work, was the power of Christ called down to bless and forward his plan. Never was any enterprise more bedewed with the spirit of prayer. At the same time that he was busy among men, enlisting the power of the press, securing the sympathies of the wise, opening the purses of the rich, bringing into harmonious action minds and interests of the most diversified nature—seeming only to be employing human means and human appliances—he was likewise busy in his closet invoking upon these efforts the blessing of the Most High.

And as it was in his connection with his university plans, so was it likewise during his military career. He entered upon that with the like concentration of energy and of will, because he believed it to be, for the time, his highest duty toward God and his Church. The duties of his episcopal office he laid down during his military career, in imitation of his Master, who put aside the glory which he had with the Father ere the world was, during his humiliation upon earth. For he felt his change to be an humiliation—such an humiliation as all God's children and servants are forced to pass through in their discipline upon earth. When some one, who did not understand the spirit of his act, was foolish enough to congratulate him upon the high honor which the President had conferred upon him, his indignant reply was : "Honor, sir ! there is no honor upon this earth equal to the honor of being a Bishop in the Church of God." And never did he depart from this proper feeling. He felt his military character to be a burden to him, and again and again, as opportunity offered, did he pray to be released from its trammels. But the same necessity which called for his appointment required the continuance of his services, and our highest civil magistrate, the power which we believe to be ordained of God, denied his request. At Harrodsburgh, Kentucky, after the bloody field of Perryville, he said to Dr. Quintard, who accompanied him all through that campaign, with the deepest emotion, "Oh ! for the days when we went up to the House of the Lord and compassed his altar with the voice of prayer and of thanksgiving !" Whenever it was possible, during his military career, he surrounded himself with all the appliances of his priestly office, and rejoiced in them to the bottom of his soul. Two days before his death—

a Sunday of storm and darkness—he said to one of his aides: “Everything is dark in nature without, but all is peace within this house. Call all my military family together, and let us have the precious service of the Church.” “And never,” said he, “did I hear him more fervent, or see him more absorbed.” He was being anointed for his burial.

Who can estimate the influence of such an act as that of our brother upon the cause which is so vital to every one of us? What could invest it with a higher moral grandeur than that a bishop of the Church of God should gird on the sword to do battle for it? A faction of the Northern Church pretended—some of them engaged in acts infinitely more derogatory to the glory of Christ’s Church—to be shocked at it; but it, nevertheless, filled them with dismay. They saw in it an intensity of feeling and of purpose at which they trembled, and when they found no echo of their pious horror from the Church of England, they ceased their idle clamor. And our brother thus became, before even he had drawn his sword, a tower of strength to the Confederacy. And who can say how much of the religious influence which has diffused itself so remarkably among the officers of the army of the West may not have reached their hearts through the silent power of his example and his prayers! Bishop Polk did not think the public exercise of his ministry a proper accompaniment of his military career, and in that I think he acted most wisely; but his dignified and irreproachable life was a perpetual sermon, and his private communion with God was his spiritual power. It is a very striking fact that every officer of high rank in that army—the army which, in the language of Gen. Johnston, he created, and had always commanded—has become a professed disciple of the meek and lowly Jesus; and that the last act of our warrior-bishop was the admission into the Church of his Saviour and Redeemer, through the holy sacrament of baptism, of two of its most renowned commanders. He lived long enough to see Christ recognized in its councils of war; and, his work on earth being done, he obeyed the summons of his Master, and passing away from earth, his mantle rests upon it.

Time does not permit me to enter into any detail of his long and useful career as a bishop in the Church of God. That must be left for the biographer, who shall, in moments of leisure and of peace, gather up the threads of his most eventful life and weave them into a narrative which shall be strange as any fiction. The vicissitudes of that life have been as wonderful as those which have distinguished the annals of so many princely families during the last eighty years. Born to large hereditary estates, and increasing that fortune by intermarriage with the noble woman whom he had loved from boyhood, and who has cheerfully shared with him all his Christian pilgrimage, he has died leaving his family without any settled dwelling-place, wanderers from the pleasant homes which knew their childhood and their youth. Trained as a man of the world and a man of pleasure, he has lived a life of

almost entire self-denial, a servant of servants, and has died a bloody death upon the battle-field. Destined, in his own intention, to mount to earthly glory by the sword and his own brave heart, he has mounted to heavenly glory by the crook of the Shepherd and the humiliation of that heart. Full of heroic purposes as he leaped into the arena of life—purposes always high and noble, even when unsanctified—he has been made, by the overruling hand of God, to display that heroism in the fields which Christ his Master illustrated, teaching the ignorant, enlightening the blind, gathering together the lost sheep of Israel, comforting the bedside of sickness and affliction, watching long days and nights by the suffering slave. Oh! how many records has he left with God of heroic self-devotion, of which the world knows nothing; records made up in silence and in darkness, when no eye saw him save the eye of the Invisible! The world speaks of him now as a hero! He has always been a hero; and the bloody fields which have made him conspicuous are but the outburst of the spirit which has always distinguished him. Battles which he fought long since with himself and his kind; which he waged against the pomps and vanities of the world and the pride of life; which he contested with the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noonday—were far more terrific than Belmont, or Shiloh, or Perryville. These required qualities which were natural to him—those qualities which came from the grace of God and the spirit of Jesus. If, as the wise man says, “Greater is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city,” then was he truly great—for he had a spirit hard to rule, and Christ gave him the mastery over it.

But his work is done, and now he rests from his labors! That brave heart is quiet in the grave—that faithful spirit has returned to its God. “The beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places. The mighty is fallen in the midst of the battle. I am distressed for thee, my brother—very pleasant hast thou been unto me.” And thou hast come to die at my very door, and to find thy burial amid my pleasant places. Welcome in death, as in life; welcome to thy grave as thou hast ever been to my home and to my heart. Thy dust shall repose under the shadow of the Church of Christ. These solemn groves shall guard thy rest; the glorious anthems of the City of God shall roll over thy grave a perpetual requiem.

And now, ye Christians of the North, and especially ye priests and bishops of the Church who have lent yourselves to the fanning of the fury of this unjust and cruel war, do I this day, in the presence of the body of this my murdered brother, summon you to meet us at the judgment-seat of Christ—that awful bar where your brute force shall avail you nothing; where the multitudes whom you have followed to do evil shall not shield you from an angry God; where the vain excuses with which you have varnished your sin shall be scattered before the bright

beams of eternal truth and righteousness. I summon you to that bar in the name of that sacred liberty which you have trampled under foot; in the name of the glorious constitution which you have destroyed; in the name of our holy religion which you have profaned; in the name of the temples of God which you have desecrated; in the name of a thousand martyred saints whose blood you have wantonly spilled; in the name of our Christian women whom you have violated; in the name of our slaves whom you have seduced and then consigned to misery; and there I leave justice and vengeance to God. The blood of your brethren crieth unto God from the earth, and it will not cry in vain. It has entered into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth, and will be returned upon you in blood a thousand-fold. May God have mercy upon you in that day of solemn justice and fearful retribution!

And now let us commit his sacred dust to the keeping of the Church in the Confederate States until such time as his own diocese shall be prepared to do him honor. That day will come; I see it rise before me in vision, when this martyred dust shall be carried in triumphal procession to his own beloved Louisiana, and deposited in such a shrine as a loving, mourning people shall prepare for him. And he shall then receive a prophet's reward! His work shall rise up from the ashes of the past and attest his greatness! A diocese rescued from brutal dominion by the efficacy of his blood!—a Church freed from pollution by the vigor of his counsels!—a country made independent through his devotion and self-sacrifice!—an university sending forth streams of pure and sanctified learning from its exuberant bosom—generations made better and grander from his example and life, and rising up and calling him blessed!

At the close of this address, the coffin, under the escort of the Silver Greys, preceded by the bishops and clergy, was carried to the grave prepared for it in the rear of the church, immediately behind the chancel-window, the family and near friends of the departed accompanying it. While it was made ready to be laid into the grave, the senior bishop pronounced the sentences, "Man that is born of a woman," etc., and the form of committing the body to the ground, and the sentence, "I heard a voice from heaven." As he uttered the words "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," earth was cast upon the body by the Bishops of Mississippi and Arkansas, and Lieutenant-General Longstreet, of the Army of Virginia; and the last military honors were paid by a salvo from the battery of light artillery, stationed for the purpose, at the foot of Washington street.

The Bishop of Mississippi concluded the solemn services by offering the "Lord's Prayer;" the first prayer in the order for the burial of the dead; the prayer, "O God, whose days are without end;" the prayer for persons in affliction, and the apostolic benediction.



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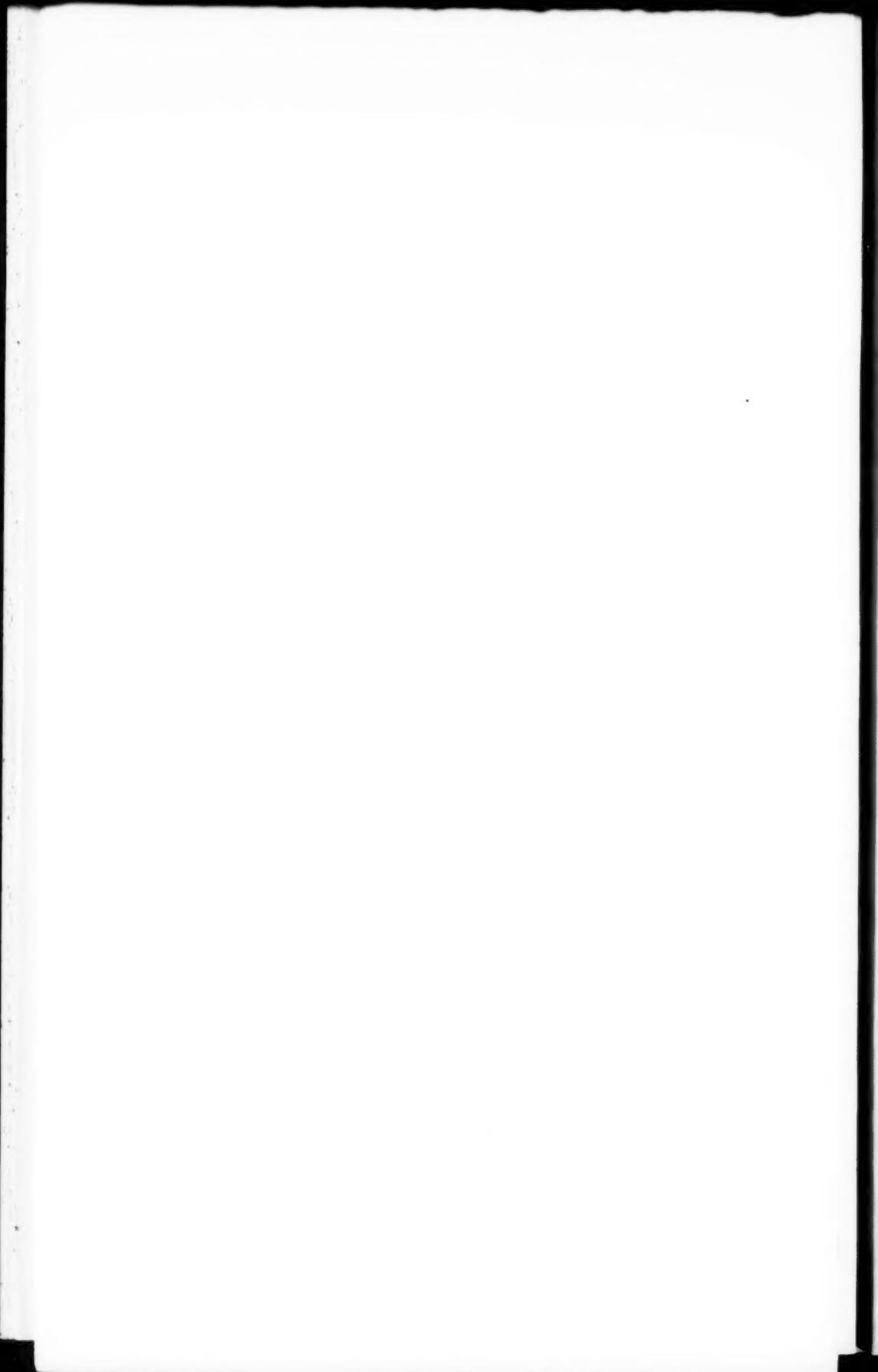
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